AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 13. No. 1 — 1954

GQUMA, MDEPA AND THE AMATSHOMANE CLAN: A BY-WAY OF MISCEGENATION IN SOUTH AFRICA *

PERCIVAL R. KIRBY

SYNOPSIS

In 1791 Jacob van Reenen, who kept the journal of an expedition sent from Cape Town to search for possible survivors from the Grosvenor *East Indiaman, wrecked on the coast of Pondoland in 1782, reported the existence of Bantu clans of mixed blood, some of whose ancestors were European and Asiatic. The author has collected all available information about these peoples, and has traced their movements from the second half of the eighteenth century to recent times. He has also furnished a chronological table of important events in the lives of certain members of these clans, and genealogical tables showing how European and Asiatic blood has spread in those areas inhabited by them. He has, further, obtained and identified the photograph of one member of the clan descended from a European woman, and has finally demonstrated that the foreign ancestors of both clans were wrecked on the Pondoland coast many years before the* Grosvenor *disaster.*

No one who delves deeply into the history of the eastern coastal districts of South Africa can fail to be struck by the frequency with which shipwrecked mariners and other foreigners have been forced by circumstances to make their permanent homes with Native tribes and, having in the nature of things taken unto themselves Native wives, have contributed, often materially, to the development of the life led by their hosts.

An intensive study of this subject would undoubtedly produce some surprising results, for castaway sailors of many nationalities, as well as runaway slaves and military deserters, have throughout the centuries brought an infusion of strange blood into the Native tribes inhabiting our coastal areas.

In addition to this we even come across individuals who, for business purposes, have made temporary homes among the tribesmen, and have not hesitated to leave behind them considerable progeny.

The present paper, however, deals with only one instance out of many, but one about which a considerable mass of evidence can be gathered. Here the ethnologist and the historian must join hands, for the one is powerless without the aid of the other.

During my researches into the history of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* East Indiaman on the coast of Pondoland in 1782, I have found it desirable to examine with the utmost care the legends which state that the women passengers on that ill-fated

* This paper is one of a series of "Studies in South African History" being undertaken by the author with the financial assistance of the National Council for Social Research. In abbreviated form it was read to Section F of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science at Bulawayo in June, 1953.

vessel were seized by Natives and taken by force to their kraals. A rumour to this effect started shortly after the disaster became known, and it gained ground to such an extent that, eight years after the wreck, a party of farmers set out from the Cape to prove or disprove it. Their journal was kept by one of their number, Jacob van Reenen, and from it we gather that the party actually found a tribe of mixed breed, descendants of people who had been ship-wrecked there, living about forty miles south of the scene of the wreck. Among them were "three old women" about whom van Reenen could learn very little, but that little was sufficient to show that they had no connection with the *Grosvenor* tragedy.

The historian, George McCall Theal, to whom South Africa must ever be indebted, outlined the story of these people in his famous history. His descriptions, however, appear in two places in his work, one at the point where he discusses the wreck of the *Grosvenor* and the other, of greater importance, where he gives an account of the massacre of the elephant hunter, Hermanus Hubner, and his companions in 1736.[1] In the first of these, in dealing with Jacob van Reenen's report, Theal says:

"Among these people were three old white women, who could not speak any European language, and did not know to what nation they belonged, though from one of them being called Bessie, it was concluded that they were English. These women were wives of a petty chief, and had children and numerous grandchildren. It is almost certain that they belonged to the same shipwrecked party as the three Englishmen with whom the colonists under Hubner's leadership had dealings in 1736."

But van Reenen did not say that the women were white, nor did his translator, Captain Edward Riou, from whose English version of the report Theal undoubtedly obtained his information. Neither did he say that one of the women was named Bessie. These suggestions were derived from other sources which Theal does not reveal. Theal's final statement was, of course, pure speculation, which, in my opinion, will not stand up to critical examination. But this is not all, for Theal, in dealing with the men met by Hubner in 1736, says :

"No other particulars concerning the three Englishmen than those given here are to be found in the Colonial records. But it is almost certain that they with three very young English girls, several Indians, and possibly others, escaped from a vessel wrecked near the mouth of the Lwambasu river some time between the years 1720 and 1730."

Since most succeeding writers have not questioned Theal's accuracy, but have taken his statements as a basis when discussing these matters, I have felt it incumbent upon myself to re-examine all the available sources, and to endeavour to reconstruct the story afresh. The result has been the amassing of a large amount of material, some of which is to a certain extent contradictory. But when this material has been arranged chronologically, and the evidential value of the various witnesses has been taken into account, a history emerges which gives us a clear insight into the kind of thing which must have happened time and again along our shores.

For a complete understanding of the tragic tale it would be necessary for me to quote the various accounts in full, but that cannot be done here. I shall therefore epitomize the evidence, and then endeavour to trace genealogies and to suggest dates.

The first person to describe a number of people who were undoubtedly connected with the mixed race under discussion was a young sailor named William Hubberly, who was one of the nine European survivors of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* in 1782. Hubberly has left us not only the evidence which he gave to the officials of the East India Company in London in 1783, but a journal of considerable length, written down some years later. In both of these he gives a day by day account of the events which occurred during his wearisome walk from the scene of the wreck, a little to the north of Port St. Johns, to the west of the Kowie River.[2]

[1] THEAL, G. M., *History of South Africa* . . . (1652–1795). London (Swan, Sonnenschein and Co.) 1897. Vol. II, pp. 22–25, and footnote to p. 25, and pp. 203–4.

[2] KIRBY, P. R., *A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor Indiaman*, 1782. Cape Town (Van Riebeeck Society) 1953.

On 19th August, 1782, the party of about fifty of which Hubberly was a member arrived at a river which I have identified as the Umgazana, or Little Umgazi. They had been without adequate food for several days, and were overjoyed to meet with a tribe of Natives quite different from those whom they had hitherto encountered, who were certainly Pondo, subjects of the chief Nqunqushe, father of the better-known Faku. The new tribesmen were unusually well behaved towards the strangers, who had up to this time been frequently attacked and subjected to stone-throwings ; and they not only sold them a bullock for a gold watch-chain, but lent them assegais with which to cut it up. This happened at a time of the year when the eating of flesh by the Natives of those parts was normally over, and in an area the Native inhabitants of which were seldom prepared to part with one of their precious beasts to another. These facts, together with the locality where the occurrences took place, are a clear indication that the people were Bomvana, one branch of which was the AmaTshomane clan, named after its founder, the chief Tshomane, who, as we shall see, had married a white woman. Unfortunately Hubberly does not mention the women of the tribe, who doubtless remained in hiding. In any case he does not seem to have suspected the foreign ancestry of some of the clan.

Some of the earliest accounts of the *Grosvenor* wreck to reach the Cape and also London contained, as I have said, rumours to the effect that the women passengers had been taken to the kraals to become the wives of Natives and, although repeatedly contradicted, they grew to such an extent that, towards the end of the year 1790, a party of thirteen farmers led by Jan van Holtshausen, with Jacob van Reenen as journalist, set out for the site of the wreck in order, if possible, to prove whether the rumours were true or not.

Since I had for long been troubled by a number of passages in the English translation of van Reenen's journal,[1] the only form in which it was available to me, I endeavoured to trace the original document and to secure photographic facsimiles of it and of an abbreviated contemporary copy now in Johannesburg.[2] These I succeeded in obtaining, and from them made my own literal translations of the relevant passages. This is what van Reenen wrote about the people we are discussing:

"*Wednesday, 3rd November:*

"We travelled from this place up to a height from which we saw many kraals of the Hambona people, a race which differs from the Kaffers, they being quite yellowish and having longer hair, all of which is curled up like a turban. We sent two of our interpreters to the chief of that nation, a man named Camboesa, with a present of beads to give to him. They told us that subject to him was a kraal of Christian *bastaards*. These were descended from people who had been shipwrecked there and, further, there were three women among them, whom the Hambona chief had taken as wives. This chief's name was Oemtonone.

"*Thursday, the 4th November:*

"We drove further forward, but after an hour were compelled to outspan because of the heavy rain. We then rode on horseback to the aforementioned kraals of the *bastaards*. We found them to be a race descended from white people, and also from yellow-skinned slaves and Bengalese. There, too, we found the three old women, who said that they were sisters, were wrecked there and rescued while children; but they were unable to say of what race they were, since they were too young when the disaster occurred. We also offered to take the old women and their children back with us on our return, and they appeared to be very pleased that we should do this.

"*Friday, the 5th November:*

"We rode from that place and crossed the little river named Mogasie, beside which the *bastaards*' kraals lay. They had very large and beautiful gardens which they had planted with kaffer-corn, mealies, sugar-cane, potatoes, bananas, black

[1] GRAHAM-BOTHA, C., (ed.), *The Wreck of the Grosvenor*. Cape Town (Van Riebeeck Society) 1927.

[2] The original report is in the British Museum, and the contemporary copy in the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

beans, etc. They also had a few cattle. We also passed the great Mogasie River, the residence of the Hambona chief Camboesa . . . "

On the return journey from the scene of the wreck the party again passed the homes of these people. Van Reenen wrote:

"*Friday, the 26th November:*

"Rode on further from here" [that is, their camping place to the north of the Umgazi River], "crossing the Great and Little Mogasies, up to the *bastaards*' kraals. I now wished to take the old women with me, and to this they were very much inclined, being eagerly desirous of living among Christians. But they wanted first of all to wait until harvest-time, in order to gather the fruits which were round their houses, and they also wanted their entire family of no fewer than four hundred to come, saying that they preferred to remain with their children and their children's children. I told them that I would report the matter to the Cape government, so that they might be brought away from this place. They were very touched when we, men of their race, came thither to see them."

Now, if we examine this account with care, we shall see that these people of mixed race were subject to Camboesa. This was Gambushe, chief of the AmaTshezi, which was the principal section of the Bomvana at that time.[1] We also see that van Reenen refers merely to "three old women" who said they were sisters, who had been taken to wife by a chief named Oemtonone. Anyone who knows anything about the exceedingly complicated terminology of relationship in the languages of the South-Eastern Bantu peoples will realize that the interpreters were unaware of the true state of affairs, and thus van Reenen was completely misled by them. Van Reenen nowhere said that these women were white, though as a matter of fact one of them actually was, and had been married to the chief of the clan. The journal gives his name as Oemtonone. Is it too extravagant to suggest this name was Mtshomane, the name of the clan, not of the chief, imperfectly heard by van Reenen?

We have, however, three other sources to draw upon in order to check van Reenen's information. The first is contained in the manuscript journal of a voyage of inspection made by two ships under the command of a Captain Vaillant, to enquire on behalf of the Dutch East India Company into the state of defences of the Dutch East Indies and of the Cape of Good Hope.[2] The voyage took place during the years 1789–1793.

On 1st August, 1792, the ships arrived in Algoa Bay, and anchored off the mouth of the Zwartkops River. Some of the officers succeeded in rowing through the dangerous surf, and in landing on the shore. There they were welcomed by the Dutch farmers, including Gerrit Scheepers, who had been one of the first to succour the castaways from the *Grosvenor* when after four months wanderings they eventually reached his farm. The officers, however, soon discovered that, though they could land, they could not return to their ship. Accordingly they hired a waggon and set out for the Cape overland. On 15th August they arrived at the farm of the Muller family, three of whom had accompanied Holtzhausen and van Reenen on their *Grosvenor* expedition. The Mullers told the writer of the journal of their meeting with the people of mixed race, confirming van Reenen's account in most respects. They stated, however, that only one of the women had been married to the chief, who had died and had been succeeded by his son. This statement gives us a slender clue to the approximate date of the death of the old chief, and also indicates that his son, who we shall see died comparatively young, was alive in 1790.

Our second additional source is that arch-gossip, Lady Anne Barnard. During May, 1798, she was the guest of Jacob van Reenen himself, and one evening, at dinner, she drew him out on the subject of the *Grosvenor* expedition to which he had been journalist. In describing the conversation Lady Anne gets nearly everything wrong, but she does put down two facts which van Reenen told her which are valuable to us. She states that they found "an old woman, near sixty years of age,

[1] Compare SOGA, J. H., *The South-Eastern Bantu*. Johannesburg, 1930. Table facing p. 360.

[2] The manuscript is in the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

a European", and that this 'white' woman "still lives, and still proposes coming to the Cape".[1]

Our third additional source is George Thompson, the traveller, who, in his well-known *Travels*, describes the *Grosvenor* expedition of 1790, and states that van Reenen's account was completely confirmed to him in 1822 by old Peter Lombard, who was a member of the party, who added that on their arrival "this tribe of Mulattoes made a great rejoicing, and cried out 'Our fathers are come' ".[2]

Nothing, however, came of Van Reenen's suggestion to bring the old women back to civilization, and they and their clan were soon forgotten. But during the expedition of General Janssens to the eastern parts of South Africa in 1803, the existence of the mixed race was mentioned by the Xhosa to Henry Lichtenstein, who was a member of the party, and he included their description of the clan in his account of his travels.

"The Koossas besides talk of an extraordinary people, far to the north, that have no resemblance to the Kaffres, who do not speak their language, or follow their customs. They call the country Mathola. Hitherto no one has visited or seen these people, but according to report, the colour of their skin is yellow, and they have long strait hair, which they do up in locks, and wind round the head. Such an account does not seem deserving of much attention, and appears to be wholly fabulous. But probably Europeans may here be meant, who have from time to time landed upon various parts of the coast; . . . and it is well known for what a length of time rumours had been spread of a people dwelling on the eastern coast distinguished by their long hair, till Van Reenen in his journey found among the Hambonas some old Europeans, who in early youth had been cast by shipwreck upon the coast, and had given occasion to such reports."[3]

Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, who also accompanied General Janssen's expedition, having been invited to act as a guide, likewise noted down in his journal the information which he had obtained about these people. His informant, however, was the notorious Coenrad Buys. In his entry headed "From Thursday, the 9th, till the 16th of June" [1803], while the party was encamped on the banks of the Great Fish River, at the place now known as Cookhouse, Dirk van Reenen wrote:

"Buys also told us that north of the Tamboekies there lived a yellow-skinned nation with long hair, named Matola."[4]

Now, it is interesting to note that Lichtenstein stated that these people lived "far to the north" in a *country* named Mathola; whereas van Reenen said that they resided to the "north of the Tamboekies", and that they were *named* Matola.

Undoubtedly Lichtenstein was misled by the fact that his informants had previously been describing to him the Bakwena of Bechuanaland, but he was correct in saying that the yellow-skinned race lived at a place called Mathola. Van Reenen, on the other hand, was right in locating the clan to the north of the Tamboekies or Tembu, but wrong in maintaining that they were called Matola.

It is this word Matola that gives us the clue to the mystery, for it is manifestly an attempt on the part of the two travellers to write down the name Amadola, usually printed on present-day maps as Nomandolo, which was the place on the eastern bank of the Umtata River where these people were living about that time, and where the original Morley mission station was founded about a quarter of a century later.[5]

We hear nothing further of these people until the year 1825, when Henry Francis Fynn, one of the pioneers of Natal, visited Pondoland for the second time, penetrating as far as the Umtata River through the Bomvana country, as it was at that time. Here he met a half-caste named Faku, who was actually a son of a *Grosvenor* survivor, a man who, being lamed while struggling ashore, remained behind. Faku told him that there were

[1] From "Extracts from the Journal of a Residence, etc.", by Lady Anne Barnard, in *The Lives of the Lindsays*. London, 1849, Vol. III, pp. 444–6.

[2] THOMPSON, G., *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*. London, 1827. Vol. I, p. 353.

[3] LICHTENSTEIN, HENRY, *Travels in Southern Africa*. (V. R. S. reprint of the English translation.) Cape Town, 1928. Vol. I, pp. 368–9.

[4] BLOMMAERT, W. EN WIID, J. A., *Die Joernal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen*. Cape Town, 1937. pp. 166–7.

[5] KAY, S., *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*. London, 1833. p. 376.

other people of mixed race in the neighbourhood, and arranged that Fynn should meet them. One of these was a man named Majubana, who was "fully 50 years of age, tall and of a copper colour". This man told Fynn that his father, whose name was "Umdaper", lived a mile away. Unfortunately Fynn did not meet the old man, but he received some remarkable information about his origins from his son. According to Fynn:[1]

"Ndapha, the chief of that part of the country, was the son of an English lady, whom they called Dawa, and said to have been remarkably handsome. I could obtain no further information than that she had come from the eastward, and would not consent to live with her husband if he retained the women he had already married. He consented to put them aside. He had but one son, Ndapha, now the father of a large family; she used to dress in native costume, twisting or plaiting her hair into cords which extended to her waist, and covered, or rubbed over, with red clay. It was on account of her remarkable beauty that, even to this day, the people when reciting her eulogies use the expression, '*Izinkabi zikaDawa*', i.e. the oxen of the white lady."

Now this is a remarkable description, obtained direct from one of the clan by a young man who was a good native linguist. From it we learn the name of the narrator, that of his father, and a name by which his grandmother, an Englishwoman, was known to the tribesmen. The only fact in it that we must challenge is the statement that the Englishwoman had but one son. As I shall show, she had three, of whom two died when still young men. Doubtless Fynn mistook the tense of the verb, and that what Majubana had tried to tell him was that of his grandmother's sons only one was still living.

Hitherto we have been dealing with accounts written by individuals who were only associated with these peoples for very short periods, and who, with one exception, were ignorant of their language. But when the British Settlers arrived at Algoa Bay in 1820, they brought with them several clergymen. One of these, William Shaw, was a Wesleyan who had been enjoined to take the gospel to the neighbouring tribes as soon as he had got his European flock safely and happily established. Shaw began his native missionary work in 1823 and, aided by a group of enthusiastic young colleagues, eventually succeeded in establishing a chain of six mission stations, each serving a tribe or group of tribes, and extending from the Chalumna River to the Umzimvubu. It is the fourth of these missions, the one to the Ama-Tshomane people and their neighbours, that is of importance to us here.

The first hint of the existence of people of European descent living towards the east was received in 1827 by William Shrewsbury, who had been put in charge of the third Kaffrarian mission, that to Chief Hintsa of the AmaXhosa, which had been established at the chief's kraal and had been christened "Butterworth". During his first few months there, Shrewsbury made the acquaintance of a Dutch farmer, Nicholas Lochenberg, who had fled from the Cape some thirty years previously. He was, in 1827, living at Mazeppa Bay with a coloured wife and six children, and was so poor that Shrewsbury gave him some clothing. This man told Shrewsbury and his young colleague William Shepstone that "about a day's journey from Butterworth there is now residing a Caffre, with a numerous family, who is descended from one of the unhappy sufferers of the Grosvenor East Indiaman, wrecked about fifty years ago [it was actually forty-five] near Port Natal: This female consented to marry a Caffre chief, by whom she had a son, who now succeeds his father; and from reverence to his mother he is strongly attached to Englishmen."[2]

Shrewsbury was much moved by this information, and lost no time in visiting the chief in question, Lochenberg accompanying him as guide. Two descriptions of this visit, which took place in August, 1827, are extant. The party rode across country from Butterworth to Mazeppa Bay, and then along the coast, crossing the rivers near their

[1] STUART, J., and MALCOLM, D. McK., (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*. Pietermaritzburg, 1950. p. 112.

[2] *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the Year ending December, 1827*, pp. 44–5. Letter from Shrewsbury of 12th July, 1827.

mouths, until "two hours from the Umtata" they came to the kraal of the half-caste chief, whose name, according to Shrewsbury, was "Dapa".

"Dapa, the Chief," he says, "is nearly seventy years of age. His mother died at a very advanced age, twelve or fourteen years ago [i.e. 1813–15]. She had three sons, and one daughter, of whom Dapa and his sister alone remain. The Chief's features are European, but his colour is nearly black. On being introduced to him as his mother's countryman, he took hold of me with both hands, and was almost frantic with joy. But his ignorance was so great, that I could not learn his mother's English name, nor the name of the vessel in which she was wrecked, nor any of the circumstances connected with the catastrophe. All he knew was, that she was white, that she was an English woman, that she had been ship-wrecked, that she had been married to his father, according to the custom of that country, and would never afterwards leave it, and that she died and was buried in such a place."

This account was given in a letter written by Shrewsbury to the Wesleyan Missionary Society,[1] but in his private journal[2] he added that Dapa's mother "died higher up the country", and that, "her two other sons being dead, Dapa alone exercised his father's authority, and that his sister, who lived at some distance, was married to a chief, was of a lighter complexion, and had long hair like European females". Shrewsbury also met one of Mdepa's sons, whose name was Umbashela, who, he was told, was "designed to succeed" his father.[3] Since we shall find that he did not do so, we must conclude that either the father changed his mind, or that his son died. The old chief, however, was very anxious that a missionary should settle near him, if only to bury his old bones when the time came.

Shrewsbury wrote at once to the Wesleyan headquarters at Grahamstown, urging that a mission should be opened as soon as possible, and Shaw fully concurred. The latter expressed himself as satisfied that the old chief was not, as had at first been supposed, a descendant of one of the women from the *Grosvenor*, basing his opinion upon Shrewsbury's estimate of his age.[4] Shaw, moreover, was familiar with van Reenen's journal, and now expressed himself quite sure that the chief was a son of one of the women met in 1790 by the Dutch farmer. He accordingly determined to visit Mdepa, but before he could do so death and destruction swept over Pondoland, and it was not until June, 1828, that Shaw was able to carry out his intention.

In that month Shaw, accompanied by Shrewsbury and another missionary named Davis, set out from Wesleyville, on the Chalumna River, and rode eastwards to Lochenberg's home at Mazeppa Bay. Lochenberg agreed to accompany the party, and in due course it arrived at the Umnenga River, near what is to-day called Coffee Bay, and there met the old chief and questioned him anew. The information obtained from him on this occasion was slightly different from that secured on the previous one. Of Mdepa he now wrote:[5]

"He is an infirm old man; his colour and features decidedly show his European descent. He informed us, that two white men, and his mother, who at that time was very young, were wrecked on the coast; one of the white men was the father of his mother; she was taken to wife by his own father, a native chief. He stated also, that his mother's father, and the other white man married native women."

Shaw continues "Dapa's mother was wrecked, probably, eighty years ago [i.e. 1748]; she died within the last fifteen years" [i.e. some time after 1813]. And the old chief told Shaw that "he should not again go to live on the other side of the Umtata, but would reside with all his tribe on this side of that river in future."

From Mdepa's kraal Shaw and his party rode to that of the Chief "Umjikwa", who had married

[1] *Ibid.* p. 118. Letter from Shrewsbury of 30th September, 1827.

[2] In the possession of Miss Killie Campbell, Durban.

[3] Shrewsbury's private journal, entry for 26th August, 1827.

[4] *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the Year ending December, 1827.* p. 119. Letter from Shrewsbury of 9th October, 1827.

[5] *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for the Year 1829.* p. 564. "Extracts from William Shaw's Journal", entry for 26th June, 1828. The autograph journal, which differs slightly in detail from the extracts, is in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown.

the former's sister. He found her to be "a strong, lively old woman, with truly European features".[1] She gave Shaw a much fuller account of the family than Mdepa had done, stating that her mother's name was Bessy or Betsy, and that one of the men, the father of Bessy, was named Bâdee. The other man was called Tomee. She also told Shaw that she remembered the wreck of the *Grosvenor* quite well, and alleged that the women passengers had indeed been taken to the kraals. I suspect that this last piece of information was due to a leading question, but it may, of course, have been true.

Shrewsbury, however, who was also present at this interview, adds a few important details that Shaw omitted to set down. He tells us that of her mother she said that she "was called Betsey, which name she also bears", and that "when she was about sixteen years of age, she remembered the wreck of a large ship, out of which a 'whole nation' . . . of white people came."[2] She would therefore, in 1828, have been about sixty-one years old. She added that the *Grosvenor* had been "wrecked a short distance from the river Zimvooboo" . . .

About a month after this visit of the Wesleyans to old Mdepa and his sister, Major Dundas arrived on the scene with a troop of horse, having been dispatched from Grahamstown to investigate a rumour that Tshaka was again threatening the Pondo and Xhosa peoples. In his official report Dundas tells us little except that he visited the "Mambookies who are governed by the old Bastard chief, Diepa (whose mother had about eighty-five years ago been saved when a child from the wreck of an English vessel" [i.e. *c.* 1743].[3] But from another source we learn that Dundas obtained further information somewhat similar to that secured by Shaw, but indicating quite clearly that he and his interpreters were by no means equal to the task of eliciting the true facts from their informants.[4]

Another fleeting glimpse of Mdepa and his people is afforded us by a letter sent by the ill-fated travellers, Cowie and Green, to William Shaw a little later in the year 1825. In it Dr. Cowie wrote: "On the side of the Umtata, Umdiepa's tribe reside. You are aware he is the son of an Englishwoman. She had five children, three of whom are dead; his sister is alive, and the descendants of the family are numerous. On making inquiry with regard to the number of individuals saved from the shipwreck, we were generally told that another woman and two men were saved. The other female only survived a few days, having probably received some severe injury when cast ashore. The two men settled in the country, and intermarried with the natives. Their descendants are likewise numerous."[5]

The Wesleyans kept receiving messages from old Mdepa urging them to establish a mission among his people before it was too late, but they had to await authority from headquarters before they could do so. Meanwhile a dispute arose between Mdepa and his uncle Qanda as to who should have the missionary when he came. The three Williams, Shaw, Shrewsbury and Shepstone, set out to endeavour to find a solution, and Shaw, determined to kill two birds with one stone, penetrated still further east in order to get in touch with the Pondo chief Faku, with a view to establishing a mission in his country also. On his way he met "a good-natured talkative chief" who, at Shaw's request, gave him "the genealogy of Dapa's and Quanda's families". Shaw thus sums up the information obtained by him from this unbiassed witness.[6] "The white woman, the mother of Depa, was first taken under the protection of Tshomane, an AmaMpondo chief [this is wrong, he was a Bomvana], who made her his wife. But at his death, she had borne him no children; he had, however, native wives who had children. Quanda is descended from Tshomane in this line, and inherits all the rights and vassals of his ancestor. At the death of Tshomane his younger

[1] *Ibid.* p. 565.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 203. Letter from Shrewsbury of 30th June, 1828.
[3] Cape Archives. Papers relating to the Caffer Chief Chacka. G. H. 19 3.
[4] *South African Directory for 1830.* p. 268. Also quoted in STEEDMAN, A., *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa.* London, 1835. Vol. II, p. 256.
[5] BANNISTER, S., *Humane Policy,* etc. London, 1830. p. lxxx.
[6] *Ibid.* p. lxxii *et seq.* "Extracts from William Shaw's Journal."

brother named Sango, requested the great man to allow him to take the white woman to wife, urging that as she was a foreigner, their own customs, which would not allow of such a marriage, might in this case be set aside. To this proposal the counsellors acceded, and Sango married the white female. By this marriage she had several children, the principal of which were her sons Lau and Depa. Lau, the eldest, became heir to the authority of Sango, but died when a young man, leaving a son named Cetani, who being a child, and unable to manage his father's clan, the whole authority devolved on Depa during his nephew's minority. Cetani has, however, for some time assumed his proper authority in the tribe and . . . is become a man of much influence. Hence there are properly three distinct clans . . . . their chiefs, Depa, Cetani and Quanda all being relatives, and connected with the white woman who was so singularly introduced after the shipwreck."

This excellent description gives us a clearer insight into the relationship of some of the principal actors in the drama. The founder of the clan was undoubtedly Tshomane; but the statement that Sango was his younger brother is provocative. It conflicts with the genealogy of the clan as worked out by some recent writers, but the suggestion that the custom of the "levirate" should be permitted in this instance although normally illegal among the coastal peoples is so circumstantial that one feels it difficult to refuse to accept it.(1) It will be seen that similar information was obtained by the missionary Stephen Kay.

There is, however, a possibility that there may be an explanation of the apparent discrepancy. William Shaw may have misunderstood his informant as to the precise relationship between Tshomane, and Sango. For it is possible that Tshomane, as an elderly man, may have taken the attractive castaway to wife and, that, when he died childless, his son Sango, who was of course no relation to the white girl, may have wished to marry her and have informed the elders of the tribe accordingly. Such a suggestion, made under ordinary circumstances, would have been viewed by the tribesmen as attempted incest. Monica Hunter, however, discovered one instance of such a marriage among the Pondo in recent years, and it will be remembered that the Bomvana were an offshoot of the Pondo people. In the case recorded by her the marriage, though permitted, was regarded as rather disgraceful.(2) But in Sango's case the circumstances were very different. Gquma was not a member of the clan at all, and was therefore totally unrelated to Sango.

Table I *From Shaw*

AMATSHOMANE

A. Tshomane [1] = Native Wife ; Tshomane = Gquma

Quanda	No Issue

B. Sango (Brother of Tshomane) = Gquma (Bess I)

Lau [2]	Depa
Cetani	

There are two errors here :
[1] Tshomane was Sango's father, not brother.
[2] Gela was the father of Cetani, not Lau.

Stephen Kay, who visited Butterworth in 1829, made a point of going to visit "old Daapa", of whom he had heard. He went in 1830 to the chief's kraal, accompanied by Shrewsbury.(3) On his way he passed through the "Cwanguba", a little wood about halfway between Mqanduli and the extraordinary rock in the sea called "The Hole in the Wall". There he found "a village inhabited by persons of a mixed character, chiefly of slave extraction". Kay saw at once that most of them were black, and married to native women, but that their unusually thick woolly hair and bushy beards, rendered them strikingly singular. They readily admitted their alien origin. Their children, however, were, according to Kay, "rarely distinguishable from the people with whom they had amalgamated"

(1) Compare MACLEAN, J., *Compendium of Kafir Law and Custom* (reprint). Grahamstown, 1906. pp. 166–7.
(2) HUNTER, M., *Reaction to Conquest.* London, 1936. p. 211.
(3) KAY, S., *Travels and Researches in Caffraria.* London, 1833. p. 335 *et seq.*

This is the second time that we have met with this people, for they were mentioned by van Reenen as living in 1790 alongside the descendants of Europeans at the Little Umgazi River. They were the AmaMholo (Molo = Moro = Moor = Lascar), whose genealogy has been worked out by the late Rev. J. H. Soga. I shall postpone discussing this clan for the moment.

Stephen Kay, after leaving this strange race, turned eastwards, and, crossing the Umtata presumably at the Ebb and Flow Drift, soon reached the new residence of Mdepa and his people "right between the Umtata and the Umdumbi".[1] The old chief, in spite of his age, came running to meet the missionaries, his only covering being a dirty check shirt that had been given to him by Cowie and Green. Kay says: "Although a complete Kaffer in his habits and manners, his countenance and features are strikingly European." His appearance, in fact, cured Kay immediately of "a certain degree of scepticism" which he had felt until then, and he forthwith became extremely interested, and determined to gather as much information as he could concerning the old man's history.

Kay seems to have won the old chief's confidence completely. Mdepa presented him with one of his own assegais,[2] which the missionary later took to London and gave to the Wesleyan Missionary Museum and which unfortunately can no longer be traced, and then proceeded to tell him repeatedly that his mother was white, that her hair was originally long and black, but that before she died it had become white. Kay also discovered that the name given to her was "Quma" [i.e. Gquma, the roaring of the sea], and that she was a passenger in a vessel that was wrecked, long before the *Grosvenor*, at the mouth of a small stream called the "Lauwambaz", several miles to the eastward of the Umzimvubu. This was the first time the name of this stream had been recorded, so far as I can discover, and it is an extraordinary thing that it was close to that very stream that the *Grosvenor* itself struck in 1782! One might be tempted to think that Kay had misunderstood his informants were it not for the fact that J. H. Soga obtained the same information independently in the early years of the twentieth century, without, apparently, having known anything about Kay's account.[3]

Kay, however, further ascertained that several other persons were cast ashore at the same time as Gquma, or Bess I, as we may now call her. Her grandson, Cetani, told him that there were five of these, namely, Ibadi, her father; Upaneya, a brother; Bomboss, another brother; Nogalekiza, a sister; and Colaz, another sister. Mdepa, on the other hand, told Kay that Bomboss was a black man, and this statement, together with the fact that Cetani had told him that *three* women had survived the wreck, caused the missionary to reflect on van Reenen's report, and to endeavour to connect these people with those described by the old pioneer.[4]

Kay also corroborated the relationship between Tshomane and Sango as described by Shaw, but found that "Usango", as he called him, had had *five* children by Bess I who "lived to years of maturity", and two or three others said to have died in childhood. The five were: Kye, the eldest, a daughter; Gala, the next, a son; Umlawu, the third, a son; Dapa, a son, and Bess, another daughter, whom I shall from now on call Bess II. Of the five, however, only Mdepa and Bess II were still alive when Kay met the tribe.[5]

Mdepa told Kay that his mother, Bess I, lived and died near the Little Umgazi River (this checks up with van Reenen), and Cetani confirmed this statement. Kay adds that "She lived to a good old age, and went down to the grave full of days, twenty-two or three years ago" (i.e. in 1807 or 1808).

Mdepa's statement that Bess I was buried by the Little Umgazi is again confirmed by the late Captain Sidney Turner, of Pondoland, who in 1864 was shown by old Johannes Lochenberg, a son of the original Nicholas, the place where, in his boyhood, he had seen "old white women", and where, when he was grown up, the natives had

[1] *Ibid.* p. 354.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 354 and footnote.
[3] Soga, J. H., *op. cit.* p. 330.
[4] Kay, S., *op. cit.* pp. 355–6.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 357–8.

told him that one named Bessie had died and had been buried with all her trinkets.[1]

Kay ascertained that Mdepa had had several wives, who had borne him eleven sons and eleven daughters. The eldest son at that time appeared to be about forty-five. Kay thought them "anything but handsome", their black shaggy beards, long visages, eyes somewhat sunk, prominent noses, and dirty-white skins", he said, "gave them a wild and very unpleasant aspect". He found that Bess II was considerably younger than Mdepa. She had that year lost her husband Mjikwa, and was now living as a widow on the western bank of the Mpako river.[2] One of her daughters, Nonibi, had a few years before been married to the chief Mdushane, eldest son of Ndhlambe.

Table II *From Kay*

A. ABELUNGU

Ibadi Upaneya Bomboss Noqalekiza Colaz [1]
|
Quma (Bess I)

B. AMATSHOMANE

Usangoo = Quma (Bess I)
|
Kye (Daughter) Gala Umlawu Daapa Bess (II)

C. Daapa
|
Badjala (Eldest) ten other sons, eleven daughters

D. Bess II = Mjikwa
|
Daughters, including Nonibi, the wife of Mdushane

[1] The five individuals in A were said to have been brothers and sisters.

Three years later, in 1833, Rev. Samuel Palmer, still another Wesleyan, was put in charge of the Morley Mission in Mdepa's country. In his journal he tells us of how he met Bess II and one of her sons named "Quobelie". He says: "I saw, fo the first time, Depa's sister. Bete is a fine-looking old woman, with hair as white as snow; has the appearance of having been a tall stout woman, with European features; but she is so troubled with rheumatism that at present she cannot walk, and, in consequence of always sitting on the ground with her knees up, the sinews are so contracted that she cannot possibly bend the knee at all, and is therefore unable to rise."[3]

We now leap to the year 1853, when George Cato, whose name is famous in the history of Durban, paid a visit to Pondoland. In January of that year Cato found, near the scene of the *Grosvenor* wreck, a man of between fifty and sixty years of age, whom he, Cato, thought was descended from some survivor of the disaster. He ascertained, however, that he was the grandson of a woman named Betsy, who was a child when she was cast ashore.[4] Either Cato or someone else must have brought this man to Durban and had him photographed. The picture is extant, having been given by Cato to a friend, Mrs. Andrews, who on her death when well over ninety, left it to Miss Killie Campbell, who had a copy made for me. A glance at the photograph will,I think, convince anyone that this man belonged to either the AmaTshomane or the AbeLungu clan, the descendants of Mdepa and Bess II respectively. Unfortunately Cato did not pass his name on to us. It is possible, however, that here we have a picture of Bess II's son "Quobelie" (Gqubile).

In 1881 a government commission was appointed to investigate native laws and customs. At a meeting held at Umtata a "Christian headman", named Xelo, gave an interesting account of the AmaTshomane and AbeLungu peoples.[5] Although he did not tell the commission about his own origins, he seems to have been an escaped slave, possibly born in Batavia. He had been one

[1] STANFORD, W. E., "Wrecks on the Coast of Pondoland", in *Chambers's Journal*. August 1922.
[2] KAY, S., *op. cit.* p. 361.
[3] *Missionary Notices, 1834*. Extract from the Journal of Samuel Palmer, dated Morley, Mamboo-Land, August 22nd, 1833 (entry for 10th June).
[4] *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser* for Friday, 28th January, 1853.
[5] *Report and Proceedings ... of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, etc. Cape Town, 1883. p. 432.

of the earliest converts made by Shrewsbury at Morley, and had been married there to a coloured girl named Minna, one of the AmaMholo people, in December, 1828.[1] Xelo's statement contains so much of interest that it must be quoted in full. He says:

"Before I was born an English lady came to this part of Africa. The ship was wrecked, and she arrived in a small boat which was brought into the mouth of the Umtata. The Kafirs took her and made her the great wife of the chief Samgo [*sic.*], by whom she had two sons and several daughters. The eldest son was called Mycetana, and the second Umdepa. The daughters, however, died many years ago. The son of Mycetana was Niki, and Niki's eldest son was Dalasile who is chief of the AmaTshomane tribe, now residing at Umpako in Tembuland. This lady's children were yellow in colour, having long hair and blue eyes. The second son, Umdepa, had a son named Majibana, whose eldest son was called Ncani, and who died without male issue. Ncani's sister married John King. Another son of Umdepa was named Cawo, and his eldest son, Jantje, is still living, and his eldest daughter Nosepesi is married to Gangelizwe, chief of the Tembus [who was present while Xelo was giving this account]. When Umdepa was a very old man, nearly a hundred years of age, he married a young wife by whom he had a daughter named Nozolo, who is married to Silas Pantshwa, here present. I knew Umdepa well, having been with him at the Morley School, in the early war time during Hintza's chieftainship. Umdepa then told me that there was a great meeting at his father's place when the woman with the white face first came, and much wonder and surprise was felt. The people asked her where she came from and she pointed with her finger towards the sea, signifying that she came from a country in that direction. She could not speak Kafir, and she wore European clothing. The people slaughtered a beast, and with its skin made the white lady a kaross. She was the first wife of the chief. She said that her name was Bess. They taught her Kafir, which she learned to speak well afterwards. Several slaves were with her in the boat, black people with long hair. I myself married a girl descended from one of these slaves, and I had three children. She did not like me, and I afterwards married another girl of my own nation. Umdepa said that the country these people came from was a cold place. Umdepa himself was a nice gentleman, he had a long nose, blue eyes, a yellow complexion, and long hair. He was a very old man when he died, nearly one hundred years of age, and we buried him. He was a very good gentleman and much liked by the white people. Umdepa had no ornament or anything belonging to his mother, as, according to Kafir custom, all effects belonging to persons dying are destroyed. I never heard Umdepa say where his mother was buried, and I have never heard of any other white women here. The great-grandchildren and female descendants of Umdepa are much sought after at the present time by the chiefs as wives, because these people are regarded as being wise and friendly to the white people. There are many descendants of the slaves; the women have long black hair, not soft, and black faces. The people found the lady at the mouth of the river, on dry land; no white man had come in the small boat with her. The chief Samgo heard of her arrival through some of his people living on the coast, who brought him word that a white face had come out of the water. She was, as I have said, brought to the great place, and given to the chief. Umdepa's daughter, who married Silas Pantshwa, is still living, but she never saw her mother, only her father."

To this statement Silas Pantshwa, who was present, added that "Umdepa's wife told him that Umdepa had a white son by a black wife, but, that a white man came, and after asking all about the boy, took him away to the Colony, promising his father, Umdepa, that his son should be restored to him; this however has never been done, and the lad was never brought back".

Now, as I have said, Xelo was not a descendant of any of these tribes, but a foreigner from Batavia. Nevertheless his intimate association with the tribesmen from an early date renders his statement worthy of close attention. He is, however, at fault

[1] SHREWSBURY, J. V. B., *Memorials of the Rev. William J. Shrewsbury*. London, 1869. p. 3 4.

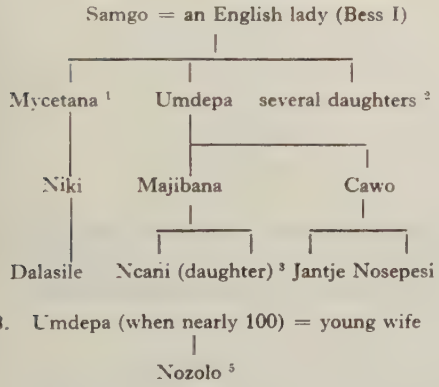
regarding the relationship of a number of the individuals whom he mentions, and this is quite understandable, since he gave his evidence fifty-three years after his own marriage took place, before which he had been a slave at the Cape and had originally come from Java. He must therefore, in 1881, have been at least seventy-five years old, and probably more.

Several points mentioned by him are, however, of considerable importance. He affirms that Gquma came ashore in Pondoland unaccompanied by any white men. He draws attention to the fact that Mdepa's nose was long and that his eyes were blue. He tells us that Mdepa's female descendants were much sought after by the chiefs, and gives us the name of one of them, Nosepesi, who married the Tembu chief, Gangalizwe. And he makes it clear that his own wife, whom we know was named Minna, was a member of the AmaMholo clan, and actually descended from one of Gquma's personal attendants.

The statement made by Silas Pantshwa corroborates a similar statement made by Mdepa himself to Stephen Kay in 1830.(1)

Table III *From Xelo*

A. AMATSHOMANE



B. Umdepa (when nearly 100) = young wife

Nozolo [5]

[1] Mycetana was the grandson of Samgo, not his son.
[2] One was, of course, Bess II.
[3] Xelo stated that she married John King (but see Table VI A).
[4] Married Gangalizwe, a Tembu Chief.
[5] Married Silas Pantshwa.

In 1889 an old man, named Zali, who was a member of the AbeLungu clan, made a statement to, apparently, Rev. William A. Soga, father of Dr. J. H. Soga. W. A. Soga, who lived at Elliotdale in the very heart of the AbeLungu country, had been collecting information about these people, and it was among his not that old Zali's statement was found. I owe my knowledge of these facts to Mr. A. W. Pearce, Senior Native Commissioner at Umtata, who has for long been interested in Bantu history and life. He generously gave me a certified copy of the old man's statement.(2)

"We came out of the sea. We are not a black people. We have white blood in our veins. Many years ago a vessel was wrecked at the mouth of the Lwambasa River in Eastern Pondoland beyond Port St. Johns. At that time the country was occupied by the Bomvana clan of Pondos. Tshezi was Chief of the Bomvanas (right hand son of Zwetsha) father of Idhlamba. The contemporary Pondo Chief at that time was Nqunqushe, father of Faku. He was killed by the Bomvanas and they had to fly from the country and found an asylum in Kawuta's country between the Umtata and Bashee rivers. At the time of the migration I was a little boy and walked all the way at my mother's side. A house had been built by the survivors of the wreck on the spot where they were washed ashore and up to recent times traces were still visible of the house and bits of wreckage where the Pondos obtained scraps of iron to make assegai heads.

"I don't know what the nationality of my ancestors was. Many other people were wrecked along with my ancestors but only four survived. They were three brothers and one woman, their sister. She was named Gquma – roar of the sea. The names of the three men are these. The oldest was Bombose, the second was Malangana and the third Hatu. These names were not their original ones but were given to the survivors by the Native people who lived there. When these people came ashore the Chiefs and people assembled and the Chiefs decided that no harm should be done to

(1) KAY, S., *op. cit.* p. 360. Kay, however, affirms that the abductor was a member of the Van Reenen expedition.
(2) In a letter of 8th June, 1953.

them. They married wives and settled among the Bomvanas and had numerous descendants. No Chief would marry Gquma the white woman. 'What Chief', they said, 'would marry a frog, a thing that comes out of the water?' Of her own accord she formed an alliance with a young man belonging to a neighbouring tribe, Tshomane by name. Her son was Mdepa who was Chief at Wilo or Old Morley. Mdepa's sons were Malibana, Cawu, Loni, and Golozana. The Tshomane into which Gquma married now resided in the Mqanduli district and its present head is Dalasile (father of the present Chief) Dudumayo. This is the genealogy of Bombose the chief of the white men. His son was Jekwa, his son was Mbuyele, his son was Nogaya who was emissary from Gambushe to Kawuta, his son Nomrosho whose son, I, Zali am. I am therefore a direct descendant of the chief of the survivors. The present head of the Abelungu clan is Mbali who resides near the Xora mouth in the Elliotdale district. The genealogy of Malangana, the second white man, is as follows. His son was Gweba, his son was Mpotelo, his son Mangala. His descendants are now among the Tshomanes. The genealogy of the third white man, Hatu, is this: his son was Ngqiti, his son Matodi, his son Goxo; his descendants are also among the Tshomanes in the Mqanduli district."

There is, of course, a good deal of confusion in this account. Zali must have been very old when he gave it, and his memory none too reliable. To begin with, he talks of having participated in the migration which occurred at the time of the assassination of Nqunqushe. This is just possible, since that event took place about 1829, and Zali would have been a child of ten if, when he gave this evidence in 1889, he was about seventy. We may therefore accept this statement. But his talk of a house built by the survivors of a wreck cannot possibly have any connection with the disaster from which his progenitors escaped. Neither van Reenen in 1790, nor Fynn in 1825, noticed anything except guns and ballast and a few small odds and ends, and those from a wreck which occurred years later than that to which Zali was presumably referring.

Nor can we accept his testimony regarding the founders of the various clans, for though the names are substantially correct, their relationships are not, when compared with those given by other investigators who were, moreover, conducting their inquiries among actual children of the shipwrecked people.

Zali's description of the Chiefs' reaction to Bess I is very curious, and sounds quite circumstantial; nevertheless it cannot be correct, since Tshomane was a chief of the royal house.

His list of the sons of Mdepa is more likely to be accurate; Majibana was certainly one of them, and so was Cawu, if we accept Xelo's evidence. We know that Mdepa had many children, so that we may tentatively include Loni and Golozana as two more of them; they were doubtless well-known to Zali in his younger days.

But his genealogies of Bombose, Jekwa and Malangana seem to be very confused; they certainly do not square with those carefully worked out by J. H. Soga, and even the relationship between the three men themselves does not agree with that given by Kay.

Table IV *From Zali*

ABELUNGU

Bombose [1]
|
Yekwa
|
Mbayela [2]
|
Nogaya
|
Nmrosho [3]
|
Zali

[1] Zali states that Bombose was the father of Yekwa, and not the other way round, as in Soga's genealogy.
[2] Two generations have here been omitted by Zali.
[3] Nmrosho must have been a younger son (see Table IV C).

From about the year 1880 onwards Rev. John Henderson Soga, himself of both Xhosa and European stock, made exhaustive inquiries into the history of his people while gathering materials for his comprehensive work *The South-Eastern Bantu*. No one could have been better qualified

than he for carrying out such an investigation; and the bulk of what he collected is of the greatest value. Nevertheless some of his conclusions appear to me to be open to question.

Throughout his book Soga uses genealogies in order to establish and to clarify tribal relationships. This method, however, sometimes causes difficulties. Occasionally his native informants, in endeavouring to trace the ancestry of a chief as far back as possible, would give the earlier names in the wrong order, and would occasionally even omit a generation or two . . . Soga, of course, was aware of this, and did his best to obtain corroborative evidence whenever possible. He appears, however, to have overlooked the primary Wesleyan sources with which I have already dealt, which is unfortunate, since he would undoubtedly have drawn some interesting conclusions from them.

His book was originally written in Xhosa, and designed for native readers. In consequence there is a good deal of repetition in it, and some topics are discussed in various places which, since the work has no index, are not always easy to find. For this reason I shall rearrange, as far as possible chronologically, the information which he has to give us about the people whom we are studying.

While treating of the AbaMbo people, Soga discusses the AmaTshomane clan very fully.[1] In two tables which show the genealogy of the AbaMbo and the AmaMpondo respectively,[2] that of the AmaTshomane is given in its relation to these other Bantu peoples. But in tracing the ancestry of the AmaTshomane, Soga describes a change of dynasty which took place among the AmaMpondo about the year 1677, this date having been arrived at by him by allowing twenty-five years for each generation. The result of this change was that a chief named Qiya broke away from the AmaMpondo and with his people migrated, according to Soga, "to the western bank of the Umtata, where his tribe has remained ever since". This statement cannot possibly be correct. Van Reenen's description shows that it was located near the Little Umgazi River in 1790 and, if the traditions about the locality of Bess I's wreck are true, the tribe must have been even further east long before that date. Soga himself must have realised this for, in discussing the AbeLungu clan he writes:[3]

"During the reign of Matayi, Paramount Chief of Pondoland, and father of Tshomane, the AmaNanga clan, under their chief Cimbi, was resident in the neighbourhood of the Lwambazo river, where one of the shipwrecks occurred. On a certain occasion, Cimbi sent word to Matazi, informing the Paramount Chief that he had with him several white people, survivors who had come ashore from a wreck. They were four in number, three males and one female child. These the natives named respectively, Bati, Jekwa, Hatu and Gquma. According to native ideas, as they came from the same "house", (viz. the ship) they were necessarily all relatives the one of another. This need not be accepted seriously. The two first named were supposed to be brothers, and the young girl Gquma was supposed to be the daughter of Bati. In course of time, Gquma was given in marriage to Xwebisa, or Sango, Principal Son of Tshomane of the AmaTshomane clan. Xwebisa was, therefore, grandson of the Paramount Chief, and in his own turn became later Paramount Chief of Pondoland. The dowry paid to Jekwa or Bati for Gquma is said to have been three hundred head of cattle. Some time after this, a vessel arrived off the mouth of the Lwambazo River and Bati decided to leave in her . . . Bati made over his property to Jekwa.

"To Xwebisa and Gquma were born three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Gela, ultimately became Paramount Chief of Pondoland; the second was Mlawu, the third Mdepa, and the fourth child was a daughter, Bessie" . . .

At this point Soga, whose information has so far been substantially the same as that obtained by Kay in 1830, introduces a genealogical table showing the descendants of Sango and Gquma.[4] He then goes on:

"This is the premier clan of the AmaBomvana. Xwebisa and Gquma's family, though claiming foreign blood in their veins, still retains, by virtue

[1] Soga, J. H. *op. cit.* pp. 329–33.
[2] *Ibid.* facing pp. 229 and 301.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 379.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 380.

of descent through the male line, their original clan name of AmaTshomane, derived from Tshomane, the father of Xwebisa. The present chief of this clan is Dudumayo, great-great grandson of Gela, the eldest of Gquma's family."

Soga, however, states that "Gquma died at Mgazi about 1770". This statement is most certainly wrong, since the bulk of the early evidence indicates that she was still alive in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The place of her death, where she appears also to have been buried, is doubtless correct.

Of Bess I's daughter Soga says: "Bessie, mentioned by van Reenen in 1790, the daughter and fourth child of Xwebisa and Gquma, married Mjikwa, son of Wose, chief of the AmaNkumba clan. Her descendants are represented to-day, or, at least, until recently, by Sizunguzane, chief of Zwetsha's Great House, the AmaNkumba, and lineal head of the AmaBomvana." Soga adds a genealogical table showing the descendants of this Bessie.([1])

Finally he deals with the AbeLungu clan, the progenitors of which were, he says, the two men already mentioned, Jekwa and Bati. Of this clan he writes:([2])

"Jekwa, the reputed brother of Bati, lived at the kraal of Puta (*ixiba*), the grandfather of Tshomane. He married several native wives ... The AbeLungu clan being descended from sources alien to the people among whom their lot in life was cast, maintained their separate identity, and were on that account likely, sooner or later, to come into conflict with their neighbours, notwithstanding the fact of intermarriage with them."

As a result, the AbeLungu clan became subdivided into four branches, though all four "lived in the neighbourhood of the scene of the wreck, the Lwambaso river".

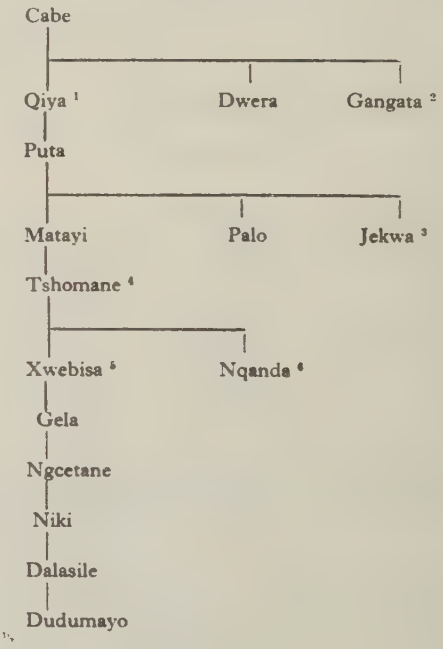
"Tradition", Soga adds, "indicates this arrangement as having taken place some time before the occupation of Bomvanaland, and apparently after van Reenen's visit. The AbeLungu clan, though one in name, derived its origin, as we have seen, from two sources. It might just be added that, at the time of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* (1782), this clan was already extant, and was one of the Bomvana clans which crossed over from Pondoland about 1810 with Gambushe to occupy the district in which they live to-day" ... Soga concludes this discussion with a very significant remark:([3])

"It might be mentioned that, in opposition to those who profess to see European characteristics of colour and feature markedly distinguishing the AbeLungu clan from others, there is nothing either of colour or feature to show that they are in any way different from purely native clans." I shall deal with this statement later on.

([1]) *Ibid.* p. 381.
([2]) *Ibid.* pp. 381–2.
([3]) *Ibid.* p. 383.

Table VA *After Soga*

AMAMPONDO

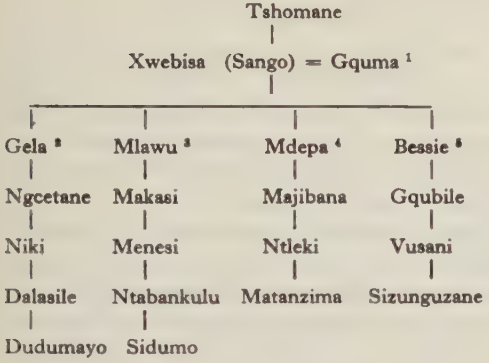


[1] Of the royal line.
[2] The usurper.
[3] Reputed brother of Bati (see Table II A).
[4] Founder of the AmaTshomane clan.
[5] Sango, married to Gquma.
[6] Uncle of Mdepa.

GQUMA'S GRANDSON

Table V B *After Soga*

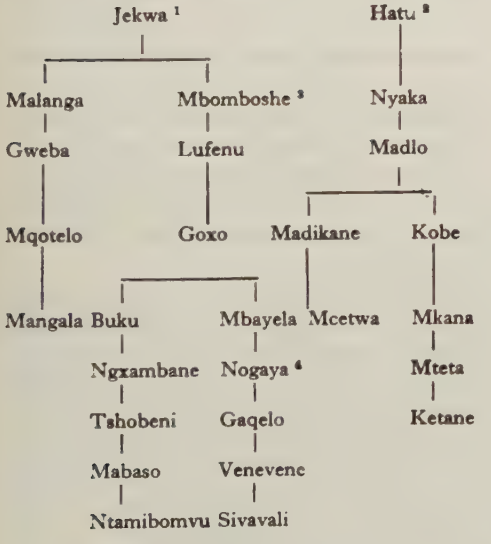
AMATSHOMANE



[1] Bess I.
[2] Paramount Chief; died while a young man.
[3] Also died while a young man.
[4] Acted as Regent for Ngcetane.
[5] Bess II; married Mjikwa (see Table IV D).

Table V C *After Soga*

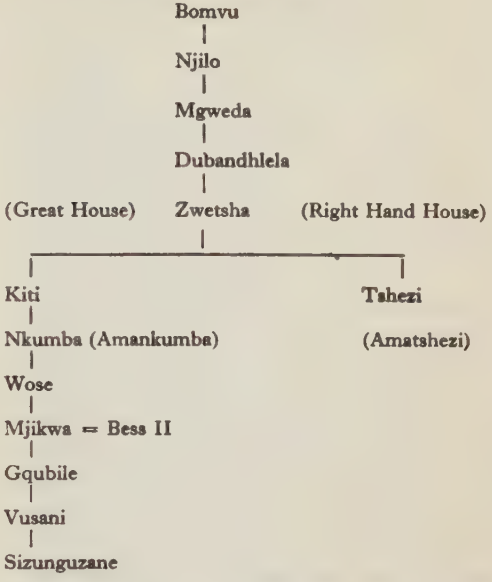
ABELUNGU



[1] Wrecked at the same time as Bati.
[2] Wrecked at the same time as Bati.
[3] The "Bombosa" of Kay (see Tables II A and V).
[4] Sent as messenger to Hintsa by Gambushe.

Table V D *After Soga*

DESCENT OF THE AMANKUMBA FROM THE AMABOMVANA



During the course of his investigations, however, Soga came across a third group of alien descent. These were the AmaMholo, whom I mentioned when discussing the evidence of the missionary Stephen Kay. The fact that Soga seems to have considered that he had made an original discovery tends to confirm my suspicion that he neglected the primary Wesleyan sources while gathering his material. Xelo, in the statement which he made to the 1881 Commission, referred to these people, but gave no details about them. Soga, on the other hand, goes into their history as fully as possible.[1] He tells us that the progenitors of the tribe were two males and a female who had been cast ashore on the Pondoland coast from some wreck. His native informants said that the men were called Bhayi and Mera, but they did not know the name of the woman, who appears to have been Bhayi's wife. Two others, named Tulwana and Pita, also got ashore, but seem to have disappeared. From information supplied to him in 1924 by Nwantsu, principal son of Mxaga, the chief at that time, Soga was able to construct a

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 383–4.

genealogical table which goes back to the grandfather of Bhati, one of the two survivors who, when his wife proved to be childless, took to himself a Pondo woman, by whom he had six sons. These people, the AmaMholo, only concern us by reason of the fact that Simon Xelo married one of their women, and the information provided by our next witness brings a new factor into their story.

This witness was Mr. William Bazley, of Umzimkhulu, who was an intimate friend of Henry Francis Fynn.[1] In the year 1944 William Bazley's son, Mr. H. W. Bazley of Port Shepstone, sent to Mr. E. C. Chubb, Director of the Durban Museum, a letter and two small note-books filled with random unclassified notes made by his father. In the letter [2] he described how his father, when in Pondoland, used to carry the note-books with him so that he could at once record any information which he might gather concerning the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, and particularly any details of the fate of her survivors.

There is no doubt that William Bazley knew Pondoland and the Pondos very well. Like most others, however, he was under the impression that the people of mixed race whom he met there were descendants of *Grosvenor* survivors, and one very interesting piece of evidence which he secured confirmed that impression so far as he was concerned.

The memoranda in the little books are very confused, as they were manifestly made at different times and over a long period. There are among them both repetitions and contradictions. Mr. William Bazley seems to have intended to put his notes in order, but he never did it; but either he or his son numbered them from one to forty-three. Several of them deal with the names of rivers in Pondoland, a few with the *Grosvenor* wreck, and one or two with personal experiences. About half of them, however have to do with the races which we are studying. Since they are scattered throughout the note-books without any order, I have extracted and re-arranged them in sequence, retaining the original spelling of names when these can be deciphered, and also the numbers given to the various notes.

[1] STUART, J. and MALCOLM, D. McK., (ed.) *op. cit.* p. xii. [2] Letter of 4th December, 1944.

1. *Notes dealing with the AmaTshomane clan*

26 Amatshomane tribe from Bessie.

29 A woman called Bess or Bessie was known in Pondoland. Some suppose her to be the girl Sango married but I get no proof of this. Sango's wife was a girl of some importance, as she had an Arab who stuck to her until she died. She was always called the *inkosozane*, and treated with great respect by the natives.

31 When Sango found the girl she had a Lascar girl servant with her and this girl remained with her until she died. This white girl put on more ornaments on her dress than the ordinary native woman did.

36 Sango found the girl and later on married her. Umdipa was her eldest son. Nochuku was Umdipa's daughter.

43 Bessie was a daughter of Sango and sister of Mdipa.

40 (part) Mdipa was chief of the Amachomane.

39 (part) Mdipa, chief of the MaBomvanas, married Bess. She bore Nogishu, wife of ? King. Died at age of 89, November, 1906. Mrs. Conway's statement. ["Wrong" written in margin.]

20 John King's statement. Says Sango married Bessie and Mdappo was his first son. Umdappo is buried at Old Morley by Palmer, the man who opened Morley and Old Bunting. Palmer is buried at Old Bunting. Died at the age of 45 on the 15 of May . . . Palmer died in 1845.

22 Nchuku, or Patience, died October 1906, aged 87 years. A grand-daughter of Nquma, the white girl found on the beach near Mlambass in East Pondoland.

13 Sacred to the Memory of Nochupu, daughter of Umdipi, son of Sango, who married Ghuma or Bessie, the white girl from the Grosvenor.

39 (part) John King's wife died 24 October, 1906.

40 (part) Harry King's father [should be mother] was married to a van der Byl, a Portuguese.

30 (part) Eliza King got married an Irishman married [should be 'named'] Conway. Dalasile was a brother of Mrs. King.

37 (part) Mrs. Conway is Mrs. J. King's eldest daughter.

23 Mrs. Conway's eldest daughter's name was

Ellen. She is Mrs. van der Byl, and lives at Libosh [Libode ?] Eliza, Mrs. Gale, in Bomvanaland. Annie, a Mrs. van der Byl.

2. *Notes dealing with the AmaMholo clan*

35 Ammamola descendants of the Lascar people. Minna was picked up on the seashore and taken up to Willem Lochenberg's place where she grew up and got married to a soldier who had deserted from the Cape. She had some children by this husband before he died. Then she got married to an escaped slave, or most probably to one of the Lascars, survived from the *Grosvenor*. A son and a daughter were born of this union. The son, called May, lived a long time near the Ibisi in East Griqualand and died at a good old age there. His sister was married to a man called Piarse, and a daughter by this union became Mrs. John Dunn. Another of May's sisters became Mrs. Toughy.

38 Minnie bore May to her second husband, a runaway slave. Minnie's (Minna's) first husband was a deserter soldier.

May's father's name was Domosi [?] Nochuko

39 Minnie (Minna) bore Lydia, and Lydia bore Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Carson.

25 (part) Poswa, a Fingo of the Mashlati or Langalati tribe, married Lydia, and is Mrs. Carson's father. Also father of Smith, Daniel and Joseph. Elizabeth, Lydia and Jane were also daughters of this union.

24 Kaloch was Willem Loggenberg's Kafir nurse.

25 William King married a Mamolo girl, Encabo.

It is evident that William Bazley obtained this information from various people and at various times. The few contradictions to which I have already referred are quite obvious, and are readily reconciled in the light of our other information. A careful examination of these notes shows us that not only do they confirm the main lines of the story of the AmaTshomane, as it was told to the early Wesleyan missionaries, but that they even add a few details and bring it nearer to our own time. They likewise considerably increase our knowledge of the AmaMholo clan.

The new facts about the AmaTshomane and, of course, the AbeLungu, are these. Mdepa had a daughter named Nochupu, who married a European named John King. She, in turn, had a daughter named Elizabeth, who married a European named Conway, and Elizabeth had a daughter named Ellen, who married a European named van der Byl, said to have been, though probably erroneously, a Portuguese.

Mdepa himself was buried, as he had hoped to be, at Old Morley. His daughter Nochupu died, aged 87, on 24th October, 1906, but we are not told the place of her burial.

Of the AmaMholo we are told categorically that they were of Lascar origin, and we are given the story of one individual of the tribe, the girl named Minna, whom we have already met. Bazley's informant told him that Minna, like Bess I, was rescued from the sea. This is certainly wrong, for her second husband, Simon Xelo, told the 1881 Commission that she was a descendant of one of the "slaves" who had been saved from the same wreck as Bess I. This seems to point to Bess I's personal Indian servant.

Minna, we are told, was first of all married to a soldier who had deserted from the Cape, and since the name of Lochenberg is associated with her movements in Bazley's notes, I would hazard a guess that the soldier in question was Henry McDaniel, an Irishman from County Clare, who, when met by Colonel Collins in 1809, was living at Mazeppa Bay with Nicholas Lochenberg.[1]

By her second husband, Simon Xelo, Minna had a son whom she called May and a daughter named Lydia. May settled on the Ibisi river in East Griqualand where the road from Madonela to Harding crosses the stream. The place is still called "May's", and it has been stated, of course erroneously, that there "the supposed descendants of women saved from the *Grosvenor* wreck are said to be still living".[2] Here May lived to a ripe old age.

Lydia married a Fingo of the AmaHlubi tribe, named Poswa, and had three sons and three

[1] Colonel Collins's Report, copied by Dr. Andrew Smith. This copy is contained in Vol. xiv of Smith's autograph mss. in the South African Museum, Cape Town.

[2] BROWN, G. GORDON, (ed.), *The South and East African Year Book and Guide*. London, 1937. p. 660.

daughters. One of the daughters, Elizabeth, married a European named Carson, and the other two, Lydia and Jane, became the wives of two Europeans named Piarse and Toughy. It is not clear, however, as to which girl married which man!

Table VI A *After Bazley, from John King*

AMATSHOMANE

Sango = Bessie (Bess I)
|
Umdappo [1]
|
N(o)choku (Patience) [2] = John King
|
Eliza King [3] = Conway [4]
|
Ellen Conway = van der Byl [5]

[1] Wrongly assumed to be the eldest son.
[2] Stated to have died on 24th October 1906.
[3] Stated to have been King's eldest daughter.
[4] An Irishman.
[5] Said to have been a Portuguese.

Table VI B *After Bazley, from John King*

AMAMHOLO

Minna = (a) A deserter from the Cape [1]
(b) An escaped slave [2]
|
May [3] Lydia [4] = Poswa [5]
|
Smith Daniel Joseph Elizabeth [6] Lydia [7] Jane

[1] Possibly Henry McDaniel, met by Colonel Collins near Mazeppa Bay in 1809.
[2] Xelo, a Batavian.
[3] A son, who lived on the Ibisi River in East Griqualand. The place is still called "May's".
[4] Bazley seems to have confused the two Lydias in his notes.
[5] A Fingo of the AmaHlubi tribe.
[6] Married to a man named Carson.
[7] Lydia and Jane apparently married Piarse and Toughy, but it is not stated who married who.

Mr. E. W. Pearce, Senior Native Commissioner at Umtata, has enabled me to bring the history of the peoples whom we have been discussing right up to date. He has told me that: "The present chief of the AmaBomvana is Nqubezulu Gwebindlala (recognized by Government as such). Zwelibanzi Gwebindlela (also recognized by Government) is the present chief of the AmaTshomane. The surname in each case means literally 'Judge of Droughts' (or starvations). The AbeLungu have no 'recognized' chief. In 1889 Mbali was the headman of the location in which the AbeLungu (of Elliotdale) lived, though Gaqelo was regarded as the head of the clan. Gaqelo's eldest son was Venevene and the latter's son Sivavali. I am, however, not sure whether the last-named is regarded as the head of the clan."([1])

Having now arranged our material, we must examine it and see what conclusions may be drawn from it.

It would appear that at least two separate sets of European and Asian survivors of shipwrecks were involved in the creation of the clans under discussion. The suggestion that all the foreign ancestors, both men and women, came from one and the same wreck, as stated in the native evidence and supported by Soga, does not appear to me to accord with the facts.([2])

On the other hand it seems quite possible that the three Englishmen met by Hermanus Hubner and his party in 1736 in the land of the "Nomotis", whom I identify with the AmaTshezi, were survivors from the wreck of the *Bennebroek*, which was lost a little to the north of the Umzimvubu in 1713. Contemporary evidence indicates that, out of the fifty-seven Europeans and twenty Lascars who got safely on shore, only seven of the former survived, and of these seven, four were subsequently rescued and taken to the Cape, while three elected to remain behind. If these three had been in their twenties in 1713, they would have been in their forties in 1736, and would most likely have been dead by 1790 when van Reenen passed through Pondoland. No mention is made in the evidence of any women having been on board the *Bennebroek*, although a number of men are actually named in it. Nor is anything said of any Lascars having remained alive in Pondoland but, although we know that the majority of the Europeans lost their lives there, apparently at the hands of the aborigines, it is quite possible that men of colour may have been spared.

It also seems likely that Bess I, or Gquma as she was called by the natives, was saved from a

([1]) In the letter to me of 8th June, 1953.
([2]) SOGA, J. H. *op. cit.* pp. 330–2 and p. 378.

wreck which occurred much later than that of the *Bennebroek*. The fact that she was still alive in the nineteenth century proves that she could not have been on that vessel when she foundered in 1713. Here I part company with Soga, who without authority states that Bess I died about 1770,[1] and I shall endeavour to prove my point and to establish others by a close examination of dates.

In 1790 Jacob van Reenen met what he called "three old women" among a group of *bastaards* whom he stated were "descended from people who had been shipwrecked". He was told that these women had been cast ashore while children, and that they had been taken to wife by a chief.

In 1792 the Muller family confirmed van Reenen's statements in general, but affirmed that only *one* of the *two* women had married a chief.

In 1798 Lady Anne Barnard was told by Jacob van Reenen himself that, on his expedition, he had "found an old woman, near sixty years of age, a European".

There can be little doubt that this individual, at any rate, was Bess I.

In none of these three descriptions is any mention made of European men. If, therefore, the three men met by Hubner were progenitors of these people, who numbered between three and four hundred persons, they must, as I have already suggested, have died before 1790.

Bess I, however, had at least one Indian servant with her when she was cast ashore. This woman would naturally have been considerably older than the child Bess, of whom she was doubtless in charge. She would consequently have been over sixty in the year 1790, and therefore might well have been another of the old women met by van Reenen.

In pursuing their investigations into the history of these peoples, the early Wesleyan missionaries and others succeeded in obtaining a number of facts which, on examination and comparison, yield a few approximate dates which are helpful to us.

With regard to the date of the wreck from which Bess I was saved, we are told by Shaw (1828) that it occurred "about 80 years ago", by Dundas (1828) about 85 years before, and by Kay (1830) from 80 to 90 years previously; that is to say, *c.* 1748, *c.* 1743, or between 1740 and 1750. I hope to show that 1740, the earliest of these suggested dates, is most probable.

With regard to the death of Bess I, we are told by Shrewsbury (1827) that it occurred "12 or 14 years ago", when she was of "a very advanced age", by Shaw (1828) within the last fifteen years, by Dundas (1828) about eight years previously, and by Kay (1830) from 22 to 23 years before; that is, from 1813 to 1815, from 1813 to 1828, *c.* 1820 and from 1807 to 1808, a range of 21 years. For many reasons I favour a date round about the year 1815. In any case Bess I was buried where she had lived, by the Umgazana River.

With regard to the age of Mdepa we find that Shrewsbury (1827) estimated it as "nearly 70", and that Kay (1830) stated that by that date he had had 22 children, his eldest son being about 45 years old. Fynn, on the other hand, tells us that Mdepa's son, Majubana, was then fully fifty years old, which to me seems more likely. It should, however, be remembered that all these estimates were made by young men. The statement made by Xelo in 1881 that Mdepa was nearly 100 when he died appears to me to be an exaggeration.

With regard to the date of Mdepa's death we have a slight clue. We know that he was alive in 1830 when Kay met him. Bazley tells us that he was buried at Old Morley by Palmer, the missionary. But Palmer himself died on the 15th May, 1845, and was buried at Old Bunting; so that Mdepa must have died before that date.

If, therefore, we assume that Mdepa lived until 1844, and accept Shaw's suggestion that he was nearly 70 in 1828, he would have been born in 1758, have been 24 at the time of the *Grosvenor* wreck, 32 when van Reenen passed through Pondoland, and 86 at the time of his death. This squares with Soga's suggestion that "according to popular estimates, he must have been born somewhere about 1750".[2]

With regard to the age of Bess II, we are told by Shrewsbury (1827) that she was then "a strong, lively old woman", and by Kay (1830) that she was "considerably younger" than Mdepa. Shrewsbury, in addition, states that she told him that she was about 16 when the *Grosvenor* was wrecked in 1782.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 380. [2] *Ibid.* p. 332.

If we assume that this last statement was correct, we find that Bess II was born about 1766, that she was 16 when the *Grosvenor* was wrecked, 24 when van Reenen passed through Pondoland and 61 when met by Shrewsbury.

With regard to the date of her death we know that in 1833 she was still "a fine-looking old woman", though severely crippled by rheumatism. Her husband, Mjikwa, died, as Kay tells us, in 1830, and because of this she went to live as a widow beside the Mpako river, where in 1833 her son, Gqubile, was looking after her. She may have lived to be 80, since she obviously came from long-lived stock; if so, she must have died about 1848. I unfortunately have found no record of her death.

With regard to Nochupu, or Patience, a daughter of Mdepa, we have a definite clue. From Bazley we learn that she died on the 24th October, 1906, aged 87 years. She was therefore born in 1819, when Mdepa was about 61 years old.

From all these particulars we can construct a chronology[1] which, I think, comes very near to the truth, as well as a reasonably complete genealogy.[2]

It is of some importance to consider the appearance of Bess I and of her progeny, and to examine the esteem in which they were held.

Her own son, Mdepa, when himself an old man, told Stephen Kay that his mother was as white as he, and that she had long hair which was originally black, but which before her death had become quite white.

Her grandson, Majubana, a middle-aged man, told Henry Fynn that his grandmother was remarkably handsome, so much so that her beauty was commemorated in a proverb, and that she had long hair which she twisted or plaited into cords which extended to her waist, and which she covered with red clay.

To these descriptions Bazley tells us that she put more ornaments on her dress than the ordinary native women did, and adds significantly that she was always known as the *inkosazane*, a designation to which she was entitled as the great wife of the paramount chief.

Of her son, Mdepa, we are told by Kay that his countenance and features were strikingly European, and both Shaw and Shrewsbury confirm this. But while the former implies that Mdepa's colour as well as his features betrayed his European descent, the latter thought him "nearly as dark as the rest of the natives". The Wesleyans, however, were agreed that in his habits and manners he was "a complete Kaffir".

Xelo, in his evidence, gives us a few more details, saying that the children of Bess I were yellow in colour, with long hair and blue eyes. Of Mdepa he says that he "was a nice gentleman", who had a long nose, blue eyes, a yellow complexion and long hair.

Of Bess II we learn from Shrewsbury that she was of a lighter complexion than Mdepa, and had long hair like European females; and from Shaw that she was "a strong lively old woman, with well-defined European features, and the usual colouring of a Mulatto"

Palmer, the last European to describe her, calls her "a fine-looking old woman, with hair as white as snow", and says that she had apparently been "a tall, stout woman, with European features".

The photograph of the grandson of either Bess I, a son of either Mdepa or of Bess II, clearly shows his European descent in his face and bearing. I would draw particular attention to his long nose, a feature which was stressed by Xelo when describing Mdepa.[3]

There is evidence that the progeny of Bess I was highly respected, the women, in particular, being in considerable demand as wives for chiefs. The reason given for this by Xelo is that they were regarded as being wise, and friendly to the white people. One of Mdepa's daughters, Nonibe, was certainly both wise and friendly. She became the great wife of the Xhosa chief, Mdushane, and, during the Kaffir war of 1835, did a great deal for the Europeans, saving the lives and defending the property of several missionaries and traders. Captain J. E. Alexander, who met her during that campaign, describes her as "about forty years of age, pleasantly stout and light brown". He also noticed that her eyes did not roll in unison! On that occasion she was wearing "a blue and white

[1] See page 23. [2] See page 24.
[3] See plate, between pp. 16–17.

striped dress, with a silk handkerchief round her head".[1]

Alexander also points out that many of Mdepa's people, who were then living about the Umtata, were of a light colour and had straight hair.

Monica Hunter, however, in her important work upon the Pondo, makes a very remarkable statement about the Pondo people.[2] She notes that among them there are two main physical types, "one with prognathous mouth, thick lips, flat nose and chocolate colour; the other with slight prognathism, thin lips, an aquiline nose, and light brown skin". She goes on to say that "all the features of the second type are admired. A commoner, as opposed to a chief, is 'a black person' ". And she adds that, at the *intonjane*, or initiation of a Pondo girl into womanhood, the older women apply bleaching agents to the initiate's face in order to beautify her.

The fact that the women descendants of Bess I were in demand as wives for chiefs led to their marrying into relatively unrelated tribes, and thus disseminating European blood still more widely. As we have seen, Bess II married Mjikwa, an AmaNkumba chief of the royal line, whose clan was, however, a branch of the AmaBomvana. But Nonibe, a daughter of Mdepa, married Mdushane, a Xhosa chief of the royal line, and Nosepesi, a grand-daughter of Mdepa, married Ngangelizwe, a Tembu chief of the royal line. And there may have been others of whom we have no knowledge.

With regard to the AmaMholo, it is quite clear that they also must have been well-established at the time of the *Grosvenor* wreck, as Jacob van Reenen's evidence amply proves. In all likelihood they were the descendants of Lascars cast ashore, like the Europeans, early in the eighteenth century, possibly reinforced by a few slaves escaped from the Colony. The Indian servant, or servants, of Bess I would naturally have found a refuge among them, and have been assimilated into the tribe in course of time.

With the passage of the years this clan also spread considerably, and the evidence shows that occasionally some of the women "passed over", to use the American expression, and became members of European families.

As I said at the outset, the particular problem with which I have been concerned here is only one of many similar ethnological problems, all of which deserve systematic investigation. And I think that they offer a fruitful field not only to the historian and the ethnologist, but also to the physical anthropologist and the serologist.

Note

The fact that Bess I was very young when she was cast ashore, and that she had an Indian servant with her who was doubtless in charge of her, suggests that the ship on which she was travelling was sailing from India to England, whither she had been sent to be educated. This, in turn, suggests that she was born in India, doubtless of English parents.

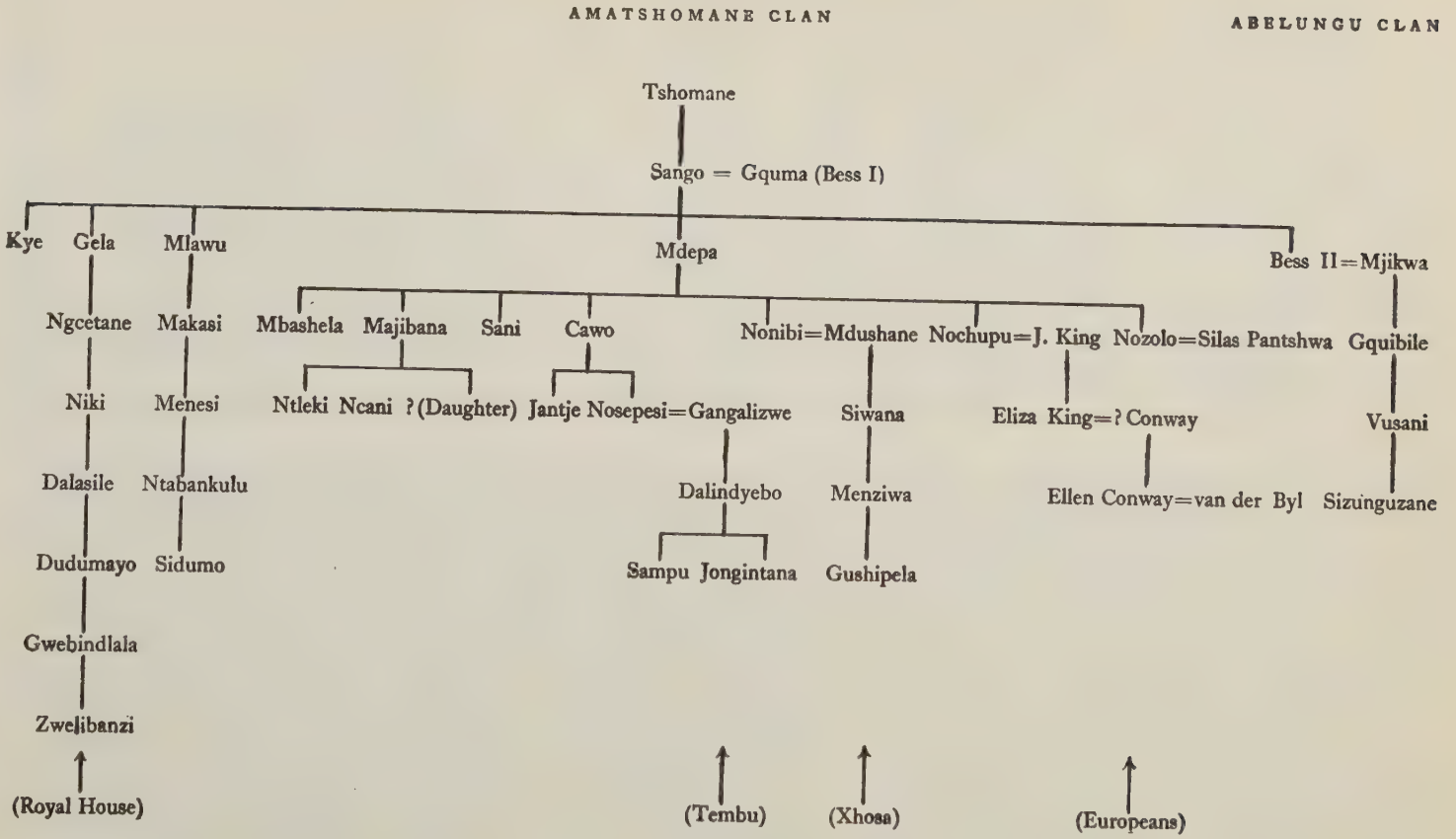
An examination of Indiamen posted as "missing" between the years 1720 and 1750 might reveal the name of the vessel in which she was a passenger, or at least provide clues which might be followed up, and which might eventually lead to her identification. Such work, however, can only be carried out in England, and even there it is far from easy.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1713	Wreck of the Bennebroek
1733	Birth of Bess I (Gquma)
1740	Bess I cast ashore (aged 7)
1750	Marriage of Sango and Bess I
1758	Birth of Mdepa (Bess I aged 25)
1766	Birth of Bess II (Bess I aged 33)
1780	Birth of Majubana (Mdepa's son)
1782	Wreck of the Grosvenor (Bess II aged 16)
1790	Van Reenen Expedition (Bess I aged 57)
1815	Death of Bess I (aged 82)
1819	Birth of Nochupu (Mdepa aged 61)
1828	Mdepa (aged 70) met by Shaw
1844	Death of Mdepa (aged 86)
1848	Death of Bess II (aged 80)
1906	Death of Nochupu (aged 87)

[1] ALEXANDER, J. E., *Narrative of a Voyage . . . and of a Campaign in Kaffirland in 1835*. London, 1837. Vol. II, p. 222. [2] HUNTER, M., *op. cit.* pp. 166, 174 and 222.

GENERAL GENEALOGICAL TABLE



IKEŊGA: THE IBO RAM-HEADED GOD

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

SYNOPSIS

Among the Ibo of Southern Nigeria is a cult object known as Ikeŋga. *It is associated with good fortune, success, ability and the strength of the right arm. It is represented by a carved wooden figure of a man with rams horns on his head and a machet in one hand and a human head in the other. Rams are sacrificed to it. The information of previous observers is summarized followed by my own field work. Then other instances in Africa of the ram-headed god are discussed including that of Egypt whence it is concluded is derived the ram-god cults of the rest of Africa.*

In 1930 the Nigerian Government detailed me to make a study of the magico-religious beliefs of the Umundri group of the Ibo. This group is characterized by a divine king and a highly developed sun cult.[1] Its centre is at Aguku some six miles from the administrative headquarters at Awka, one of the divisions of the Onitsha Province, Southern Nigeria. In the course of my investigations I came across carved wooden cult objects which were called *Ikeŋga.*

I propose to quote from previous observers among the Ibo, then to give my own observations and finally to show the existence of this cult elsewhere.

PREVIOUS OBSERVERS

Schön and Crowther (1842, 57) describe near Aboh, from what follows, an image which belongs to the category of the *Ikeŋga.* "Just before us stood an idol made of wood, holding a pistol in his left hand, and a sword in his right. He is considered the God of War. In time of war, every soldier is obliged before he departs for the fight, to lay his hands upon the idol, who preserves him and enables him to return in safety."

Burdo (1880, 186) who was on the Niger in 1878, describing the wooden images of the Ibo chief of Oputa on the Niger, writes: "At the end of the room there was a ledge, near which were placed three wooden idols, curiously painted; a sort of *lares*, called *Tshi*, *Ikenga*, and *Ofo*."

Read and Dalton (1899, 35) cataloguing a carved ivory bracelet purchased at Lokoja on the Niger in 1868 describe one of the features as follows: "Head of an animal with long ears and ibex-like horns, from the mouth proceed two human arms." From what follows it is likely that this bracelet reached Lokoja from the north.

The next earliest reference to the *Ikeŋga* comes from Thomas (1913, 29, 30, 35, 36) who writes concerning the Awka area of the Ibo: "The personal tutelary deities are known as Ainyaṅwa

[1] Jeffreys, M. D. W. "The Winged Solar Disk." *Africa.* Vol. XXI, No. 2, April 1951.

or Abwala, Či and Ikenga . . . of less importance than either of these two is the Ikenga, an image purchased in the market; there is no ceremony of consecration beyond a sacrifice to it when it is brought home.

"It has frequently been asserted that a negro will abandon his 'fetish' as soon as it ceases to give him satisfaction; the case already cited of the či is not on all fours, and with respect to other protective deities I have found practically no evidence that rejection is practised; it is true that on one occasion an ikenga was brought to me by a man who said that its virtue was exhausted for him, but that its power would be renewed if I purchased it. I had, however, no evidence that it was the man's ikenga, and it appears probable that it was a discarded one, probably belonging to a dead man. For twelve days after a man's death they are put outside and subsequently thrown into the bush; in more than one place I was assured that it was impossible to change an ikenga, that at most if a house were burnt out a new one may be purchased.

"In the Efik language Akaña means the solemn promise made by a reincarnated man to return to the other world, this is possibly the same word as ikenga . . . I saw at Awka a sacrifice to prevent evil on a journey; a chicken was killed and the wings thrown towards either side of the road, and a small boy then ran with the body towards the market. An ikenga was put down and tobacco and cowries offered to it; the sacrificer then tied palm leaf on his right wrist and round the ikenga, saying, 'Let the road be open for me, let me get money'; the man then lays palm leaves on his hands, and runs and throws them on the path. . . . an ikenga must get things by ten." Thomas also defines it (1914, 192) as: "a personal protective deity".

Basden (1921, 219, 220) writes: The *Ikenga* is always carved from a solid block of uroko-wood. The height varies from one foot upwards. It represents a man seated on a stool; two long horns, curling backwards, are the symbol of strength and power. Many examples have a long-stemmed pipe in the mouth, the bowl of the pipe resting on the knees. The right hand of the larger *Ikengas* grasps a sword, point upwards, whilst the left holds the heads of the conquered enemy – this again denoting strength. Occasionally the horns project from a headless trunk and no limbs are provided. Such are simply of cheaper design. For religious purposes all figures of *Ikenga* stand equal. As a rule only the head of the house-hold may offer sacrifices to them; should he be prevented for any reason the *awkpala* (next of kin, male) officiates in his stead. . . . With the exception of *Ikenga* the majority of the fetishes are fashioned by their owners; the *Ikenga* is carved, and the services of a craftsman are needed, otherwise it likewise would be home-made. It may be purchased in the ordinary way in the open market or by private treaty, the latter method being followed when extra or special features are required. Up to this point it remains a piece of merchandise, no ceremony whatever having been performed to consecrate it to a religious use. The buyer, himself, sets it up in his house, pours out a libation of palm wine or gin before it, and offers kola; and from henceforth it has the sanctity of, and is reverenced as, an alusi (ju-ju)."

In the typed, manuscript, Ibo Dictionary of the Church Missionary Society's copy at Awka 1930 *Ikeŋga* is described as "the name of an idol who is worshipped to bring good luck". Whilst in a C. M. S. brochure called *West Africa* page 16 and published in London in 1926 occurs the following: "*Ikenga*, the god of strength, is worshipped as a wooden idol, sometimes with a human face, sometimes only a carved block, but always having horns, for it is the horns that really represent him. He is the chief god of the Ibos, and has an important place in every Ibo hut. He is given food and drink before every meal."

Talbot (1926, II, 141, 164) gives the fullest account of this cult object: "*Ikengga, God of Fortune*. Another protective spirit, worshipped by most of the Ibo sub-tribes, is *Ikengga*, which really signifies that part of the right arm from shoulder to elbow. It is the genius of a man's strength, and of his fortune. The right arm is often called *Aka Ikengga*, i.e. hand of the *Ikengga*. Success in trade, war, hunting and farming are the blessings expected from it. It is represented in a confusing variety of forms, but these are always either horn-shaped or bear the representation of a horn, usually of a

pair, upon the head or in relief upon the surface. Except among the Isu Kweataw Edda the symbols are made out of wood . . . It is difficult to know how to classify the *Ikengga* spirits, as some Ibo say that they are not jujus (*Alose*), while others assert that in several respects they are more like the ancestors. Among the Ika they appear to be connected with the personal *Chi*; when an offering is made to *Ikengga*, the names of the dead father, coupled with that of the *Chi*, are called.

"The Ika pray to the *Ikengga* for success in trade, war, hunting and farming. The heads of all leopards and of every enemy killed in war are offered up before the symbol, which is then brought out in front of the house. Each adult man and woman possesses one – in early years a very small image. The 'doctor' makes and consecrates it before a marriage, and a yearly sacrifice of cowries, palm-oil and fish is made at the harvest festival before the offerings given to the ancestors and after that to the *Chi*. Different kinds of images are made for 'doctors', women, and men, but any of these can have either one horn or two. Some of the Abaw Ibo have *Ikengga* depicting a person with birds flying around his head.

"The Onitsha-Awka sub-tribe generally used a two-horned symbol, which is always carved by the owner and then taken to his father, or, if he has none, to the *Okpara*, the oldest man in the 'quarter', for consecration. At this ceremony a fowl, native chalk and charcoal – the two latter of which are rubbed over the symbol – are offered up, after which an emanation from the *Ikengga*, or one of the *Ikengga* spirits, is thought when invoked to enter into the representation. In future, sacrifice is made to the ancestral images and to the *Ikengga* at the same time. The latter is thrown away after the owner's death. . . . Most of the Ibo of Okigwi District believe the spirit to be a male juju and make the image with two horns. The first sacrifice made by a man, who has killed an enemy in war, is to his *Ikengga* and, when he dies, a ram is always offered up to it. Such sacrifices must be made on Afaw day. The Isu-Kweataw Edda have the same belief, but the symbol consists of a 'fine stone' placed at the threshold. There is one for each family.

"In Owerri Division the symbol is two-horned; in the Oru and Mboaha clans every adult male has one of them, but amid the other peoples only the elders and occasionally a young man who has been told by a 'doctor' to get it. The Oru chiefly pray to it to direct their arms so that they should not be hurt when cutting trees, etc., and that any work done by the hands should bring in money. A big cock is sacrificed if a good profit is made in the market; at other times Okpaw fish – or by the Mboaha a cock – is offered up, on the advice of a 'doctor'. Contrary to the opinion of the rest of the Ibo in Owerri Division, they do not consider it an *Alose*.

"In some ways the *Ikengga* spirit would appear to be a personification of the right arm, somewhat as the head and feet are personified. For instance, sacrifices are offered to the genius of the feet before setting out on a journey whether in this life or after death to the shades."

Meek (1937, 39, 173, 317) writes as follows: "*Ikenga* is the personification of a man's strength of arm, and consequently of his good fortune. At Owerri the symbol occurs only (so far as I could ascertain) in the form of a forked piece of wood some 6 to 8 inches long, with a flat bottom so that it can stand upright, and is part of the paraphernalia of a diviner, who carries it in his bag together with his *Ofo* and his '*Ndum Agu*' (symbol representing the spirit of divination). At Ubomiri (and no doubt in other groups also) rich men may have carved symbols of Ikenga with one or two horns. They are bought from a carpenter and are formally handed to the owner by some relatives indicated by a diviner. The relative spits on the symbol and says, '*Ikenga*, be pleased to endow this man with wealth and children, and do not burn him.' The owner offers sacrifice when he feels inclined, and on his death the symbol is thrown into the 'bush of evil'.

"But Ikenga is not a cult of much importance at the present time, as it was formerly associated with the practice of head-hunting. In the Awgu division every head-getter used to have a shrine of Ikenga, the symbol of which was an *oha* tree. When a young man first obtained the head of an enemy in war he asked a lucky old head-getter to

establish for him an Ikenga. An *ọha* tree was planted, and the old man laid a fowl at the base of the tree with some such prayer as follows: '*Ikenga*, I have come to-day to "cut open" the *Ikenga* of this man. From you I have derived profit, whether I went to the right or to the left. Grant that things may go equally well for this man. May his sheep or goats bear offspring, may he be successful in his hunting, and may his wives bear many children.' He then cut off the fowl's head and left the body *in situ* to rot . . . The senior head-getter, standing before the symbol of *Ekwêsu*, spoke as follows: '*Ekwêsu*, we have to offer sacrifice on behalf of this man who has taken the head of his enemy. We do this in order that his right arm (*ikenga*) may remain unimpaired . . .' In some communities the head-getter's emblem was an *obo* tree and was known as his *Ikenga* (i.e. upper arm). Before it was cut down (at his death) the prayer was: 'When you are reborn may your *ikenga* stand straight. May you be a killer of enemies, and not of fellow clansmen. May your son, who is succeeding you, look after his family as you did.' The officiant then took a matchet, and with a single blow struck off the head of the sacrificial ram. The symbol was now cut down and a feast held, the meat being dipped in a sauce of oil and pepper which had first been deposited in a human skull."

It will be noticed that there is some disagreement between Basden and Talbot. Basden says that, though an *ikeŋga* owner usually makes his own fetish, he calls in a master carver to carve an *ikeŋga*; Meek says the same, whereas Talbot says that the owner himself fashions the *ikeŋga*. Talbot says the head of the lineage must consecrate the object, Meek says the local head of the cult does it, Basden says that the owner himself may do so.

Meek says that the cult object may have only one horn. The others mention two. All my own cult objects had two horns.

FIELD WORK

My own investigations show that there is actually no disagreement; that practices and usages vary widely, an indication that this cult has diffused into these areas by several different routes. I came across confirmations of each of the descriptions given by Basden, Talbot and Meek.

I found that broadly speaking these cult objects could be classified under three heads.

(a) *Ikeŋga Madu*
(b) *Ikeŋga Aluʃi*
(c) *Ntutu Agu.*

Fig. I. shows three horned human figures. The two outside figures have horns that coil back after the manner of a ram's horns.

Fig. II. shows the *Ikeŋga* in the form of an aluʃi. Where *alu* = child and *Shi* = Sun = *Chi* hence *Aluʃi* = child of the sun, i.e. child of god, or saint. These *Ikeŋga Aluʃi* are of considerable interest because they show the form of the horned god not only becoming stylized but incorporated with other cult signs. Thus, the largest *Ikeŋga* in Fig. II has four disks and eight knobs vertically between pedestal and head. Four and eight are sacred numbers among these Ibo. The next *Ikeŋga* in white wood shows the symbolized *itʃi* or winged solar disc facial scarification pattern on its face, whilst the rest of the figure below the neck represents a *tʃi* or spirit altar. The smallest figure, in the top left hand corner, rests also on such an altar which looks like a cotton reel with eight knobs round the middle. These altars appear to be conventionalized stools.

Fig. III is from page 91 of R. E. Dennet's book *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London 1906). It shows two of these horned images very similar to those in Fig. II. Dennet's figures came from the Bavili tribe in the Congo and he says nothing about them except: "Bisongo (like forks) are also known here." Whether *songo* is related to the Yoruba name of their Ram God, Shango is open to conjecture.

Fig. IV shows a variety of the small figures carried around by the Ibo *dibia* or medicine men. These images are called *ntutu agu* and include other types of figures than these of *Ikeŋga*. Thus, the second figure from the right is not an *Ikeŋga* because it has no horns, but the form of the long beard is interesting. I have seen this form of beard in the wooden stake carvings that represent the

ancestors among the Oronese of the Eket district, Calabar Province.

Each *dibia* will have other sacred images and objects in his *akpa agwu* or bag made of rafia. Some of these sacred objects are common to all *dibia*, namely the *ɔfɔ* and the *ikeŋga*. These objects have no *oγu* or open space kept clear and swept before a shrine and are thus distinguished from the *aluſi* who do.

The *dibia* spreads out in front of himself these *ntutu agu* before starting to divine. He will chatter to these images and interpret their statements to onlookers or to clients who have come to consult him.

My informants declared that no woman could have an *Ikeŋga*. An *Ikeŋga* is also called *Oketſi* where *oke* = man, *tſi* = sun, vital spark, and is applied to any lucky, vigorous and energetic man.

Ikeŋga may also be used as synonym for profession, occupation, e.g. his *Ikeŋga* for getting money is by the ivory trade. If a man has a wife who is a good trader and makes money for him and she then dies, people will remark that his *ikeŋga* has died. One may say *kedu ive bɔ ikeŋga eguye?* = how does he get his wealth? To reply: "by theft" does not always raise a laugh because at Atſi in the Awgu division theft is no crime. These people say that unless a man steals he will never be rich. Also in the Nsukka division at Ahodu, Akwebwe, Ɔzala, and Ukehe, also at Enugu under Abagana Native Court and at Nemo larceny is considered a virtue.

I was informed that both an *Aluſi* and an *Ikeŋga* are carved out of wood and that whereas an *Aluſi* was regarded as human and could take titles as men do, this ceremony was not possible for an *Ikeŋga*, and whereas a male *Aluſi* could be provided with a wife an *Ikeŋga* never was. Whereas an *Aluſi* had its *Uγɔ* or shrine where sacrifices are made to it alone, an *Ikeŋga* never has a shrine. Also in making a sacrifice to the *mmɔ* or ancestral spirits in the *Obu* house, an Ikeŋga might be placed alongside an *ɔfɔ madu* before the iru *mmɔ*, an *aluſi* never is so placed.

An *aluſi* may be provided with an *Ikeŋga* but an *Ikeŋga* can never be provided with an *Alufi*. An *Aluſi* could have *ɔfɔ* but not an *Ikeŋga*.

So far as an *Osu Aluſi* (slave of a sacred shrine) is concerned an *Ikeŋga* has the same value as a *ɔfɔ*. When such an one goes travelling, if he hasn't an *ɔfɔ*, he will take an *Ikeŋga* and on visiting a house will demand board and lodging in either the name of the *ɔfɔ* or of the *Ikeŋga* which, holding in his hand, he brandishes before the house holder.

An *Ikeŋga* cannot replace the *ɔfɔ* in invoking the *Mmɔ*, *Nditſie* or *Tſuku*. The old men at Umuleri declared that so far from *Ikeŋga* being an *Aluſi*, i.e. a deified ancestor it was synonymous with *Tſineke*, the Supreme Being, i.e. it was a god, not a saint. This outlook was confirmed by the elders of Oranzi.

On the other hand Anijiebo of Udi stated that *Ikeŋge* [sic] is a manlike image carved in wood and is the son of the great *Aluſi* of Udi, called *Ugwa* which is a mass of clay moulded to the form of a king decorated with white clay and sitting on a throne. *Ikeŋge* sits on the right of *Ugwa* which, not being able to be carried about, is represented by its son *Ikeŋge*. When necessary *Ikeŋge* is carried around the town and people who would not be able to come to *Ugwa* take their oath upon *Ugwa's Ikeŋge*. Just as *Ugwa* has the power to kill so also has its *Ikeŋge* this same power.

If a person takes an oath on either *Ugwa* or on *Ugwa's Ikeŋge* and dies within six months thereof, his death is ascribed to the power of *Ugwa*. The corpse is not buried but cast into a special thicket preserved for such a purpose. Before the body is thus cast away the family of the deceased will offer up a ram, a pot of palm wine and a basket of yams. The basket will contain nine yams, neither more nor less. All the deceased's property, down to his calabash drinking cup and wooden walking stick, are forfeit to the priest of *Ugwa*. If the deceased were buried and it was discovered that his death was due to the power of *Ugwa* his head is dug up and placed at *Ugwa's* shrine.

I shall now quote from various Ibo informants what they consider are the local uses of *Ikeŋga*.

Ɔkorafo of Ibo Anotſa states: "*Ikeŋga* is known as a person's hands, whereof the right hand is the chief. What ever a person acquires by his own efforts is his personal property and if he prospers he is called *madu oke ikeŋga*, or a lucky man and he

should then honour his hands which have worked so successfully for him. He must go to a wood carver and ask him to carve out an *ŋkwu Ikeŋga* for his right hand so that he may make sacrifices to it for all that it has done for him.

"On getting the *Ikeŋga* he will at once inform his *ulo* or age group the date on which he intends to make a sacrifice to his *Ikeŋga*. His relatives will also be invited to attend. On the appointed day he will sacrifice to the *Ikeŋga* a ram or a cock according to his wealth and then will sing praises to his *Ikeŋga*."

Onitsha. P. Chukwade says: "The *Ikeŋga* represents the spirit which gives courage to a man. The leopard is a fierce animal and one of its forelegs is called the leg of *Ikeŋga* because he becomes less fierce if anything happens to that foreleg.

"*Ikeŋga* is carved by a wood carver. The purchaser makes a sacrifice to it by pouring the blood of victims over it and sticking on the feathers of fowls thereby. If a man kills a person he parades in his town with the deceased's head in his left hand and a matchet in his right shouting that it was through the power of his *Ikeŋga* that he had killed a man and was now numbered with the braves of the town. To-day any one who kills a fierce animal ties palm leaves around the neck of his *Ikeŋga* and parades with it in his hand.

"When sacrifices are made at planting and harvesting or at the birth of a child the *Ikeŋga* is included among the other sacred objects.

"Sickness may be due to neglecting to sacrifice to one's *Ikeŋga*. At death the *Ikeŋga* is usually broken up and burnt." Ezeani of Awka states: "*Ikeŋga* is a god carved in wood. It has a pair of horns each of which turns on itself in the middle. The face has the *Itfi* carved on it. In its right hand it holds a matchet, in its left a representation of a human head. The figure of this god is human in shape. Sometimes its teeth are extraordinarily large and it sits on a stool. Its body may be painted red, black, yellow, blood or spotted. It is generally kept at the lower edge of the roof in the verandah where it can observe all who enter. It is a god of fortune and success and so fights against anything that opposes good fortune and success. Hence the matchet, the pair of horns and the monstrous teeth with which it is equipped. It can attack simultaneously with all these things any threatening intruder.

"The place where an *Ikeŋga* is kept is shrouded with the immature white leaves of the oil-palm as a sign that the place is sacred or holy.

"The power of the *Ikeŋga* to kill is indicated by the human skull it holds. He who is protected by an *Ikeŋga* selects one day in the year to sacrifice to it a cock. If the owner is going to a distant place he will invite it to accompany and protect him and ensure him success and good luck. Some promise is there and then made to the *Ikeŋga* and if the man is successful on his journey he must on his return keep his promise to his *Ikeŋga*. If he breaks his word he will never again meet with success. In honour of this power of the *Ikeŋga* one's right hand is called *Ikeŋga*, for this hand is more active than the left and achieves success. Moreover when he meets with good fortune, people will say that his *Ikeŋga* is awake and active."

Izutʃi of Ozubulu remarked that: "*Ikeŋga* means shoulder. Our people maintain that a man owes his power of manual dexterity to his shoulder so they carve out of wood an *Aluʃi* called *Ikeŋga* – the god of power or of the shoulder. They worship it so that it may supply them with enough power to carry out the work of their hands."

Egbuniwe, says: "*Ikeŋga* comes from the two words *Ike* = strength and *ŋga* = to succeed. When sacrificing to one's *Ikeŋga* one wears white clothes and white clay is sprinkled over the *Ikeŋga* before the blood of the sacrifice is poured over it and the feathers of the fowl or the hairs of the goat sacrificed are stuck into it."

Fig. V taken by Miss Yeatman of the Church Missionary Society, Awka, shows a sacrifice hanging from the branch of an *obu chi* (*Ficus elastica*) or tree of life. The sacrifice consists of a white goat, a white and a black fowl. Below the sacrifice is an *ikenga* and two wooden stools or *okpen ʃi* that function as altars. On the top of the *ikenga* and of the *okpen ʃi* can be seen a sprinkling of the dust of white clay (kaolin). In the background can be seen the owner who, though not dressed in white cloth, is daubed on face and chest with white clay.

Odikpo says: "*Ikeŋga* represents the ancestors and different trees are selected according to the kind of *Ikeŋga* wanted. *Ikeŋga* that are carved from the *Egbo* tree[1] are merely a stem of wood with a human face at one end to represent the ancestors and bear their names. Even without any carving such bits of wood function as ancestral *Ikeŋga*. When sold by a carver the *Ikeŋga* is white but it is soon blackened by the blood of sacrifices whereupon it is regarded as sacred.

"*Ikeŋga* that are kept in huts are used at public ceremonies and vary from a foot to three feet in height. They are under the control of either the oldest or highest titled man in the village, or they may belong to certain families. Private *Ikeŋga* are kept by their owners for use on feast days, such *ikeŋga* are destroyed at the death of the owner."

Edward Obi of Nwi, Onitsha states that an alternative name for *Ikeŋga* is *Agwu-nsi* and remarks that the carved *Ikeŋga* are about three feet high and are coloured either white or black. These *Ikeŋga* are kept in a place of public worship though a *dibia* might have one in his house.

"These public *Ikeŋga* have once a year a solemn celebration when the owners will prepare a feast and in the afternoon will perform and dance before the shrine of the *Ikeŋga*. Formerly in place of modern zinc roofs the huts of such *Ikeŋga* were thatched with grass and the walls lined with carved and coloured planks. At one end of the hut are placed the old *Ikeŋga* with a heap of white clay before them. This help is the accumulation of offerings of four sided sticks of clay pointed at each end, though some are discs. This white clay is the food for these *Ikeŋga*. Supplicants coming to these *Ikeŋga* likewise take a taste of this white clay.

"Just as human beings must have property so also must these *Ikeŋga*. Hence one finds slaves donated to *Ikeŋga*, land was allotted to them, animals were consecrated to them and these were looked after by the slaves of the *Ikeŋga*. Free men also saw to it that these *Ikeŋga* were not deprived of their property lest they themselves should also suffer loss thereby.

"Personal *Ikeŋga* are much smaller and are kept in the owner's house as a protector of the house and these represent the ancestors of the owners. Every big *Ɔkwɔ* day, which occurs every eight days, is sacred to private *Ikeŋga*. No farming or trading is permitted on this day to the owners of such *Ikeŋga*".

Anyogu of Onitsha states: "*Ikeŋga* may be four feet high, they are often painted black excluding eyes and teeth and they have no ears. The expert makers of these objects are the carvers of Awka and of Agbaja, a special carver does the eyes and teeth. The buyer pays the carver in kola nuts according to the amount of work spent in carving the object. The *Ikeŋga* represents the ancestors.

"The owners of *ikeŋga* never cut off all the hair of their heads but always leave a hair-lock on the top of their heads, and wear a red feather at the side of their red Fez caps".

Mokwe of Onitsha. "*Ikeŋga* is the god of fortune and bravery and is owned only by men, females may not own one. When a male is born his father goes to a wood carver and buys an *Ikeŋga* for his son. The carving is in the form of a man with two large horns on its head. It holds a sword in its right hand and a shield in its left. These items indicate bravery."

Jiagbo of Onitsha states: "All *Ikeŋga* are men sitting on a stool, variations on this basic design depend upon the demands of the client. Thus a man who claims he is being troubled with evil spirits would possess none but an *Ikeŋga* with a matchet in one hand and a club in the other. Thus armed this *Ikeŋga* can drive away the fiends from the owner's house.

"A man desiring an *Ikeŋga* approaches a wood carver and describes him the reasons which urge him to get an *Ikeŋga*. This information enables the carver to insert these details. When the carving is finished then comes the question of dyeing the object because these dyes are fixed by the causes that have lead to the making of the *Ikeŋga*. An *Ikeŋga* carved to commemmorate good fortune must not be dyed red or black but with white for the

[1] "*Newboldia laevis* . . . Among the Ibo it is more or less sacred or symbolic, often planted in small groves in front of a Chief's house. (Basden). Among the Ekoi and Ibibio it is a symbol of deities, and a cutting or sapling is always brought from the old town to the site of a new one." DALZIEL, J. M. *The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa*. p. 445. London, 1937.

eyes and arms and yellow for the rest of the body because these are victorious colours. Up to now the *Ikeŋga* is merely a piece of carved wood.

"Now comes the ceremony of consecrating it so that it is transformed from a piece of carved wood into the guardian of a man's fate or fortune. Just as a man is introduced into a society in the presence of all its members so it is with the *Ikeŋga*. The owners of *Ikeŋga* bring out their own and the oldest man, the Okpala, in the clan of him who is to have his *Ikeŋga* consecrated takes a seat before the collected *Ikeŋga*. The victim in this ceremony is a ram. The *Okpala* kills the ram and while its blood is gushing over all these assembled *Ikeŋga* he calls on the names of the ancestors. The ram is then consumed by the assembled *Ikeŋga* owners. In this way is the new *Ikeŋga* consecrated. At all the annual feasts a cock must be sacrificed by the owner to his *Ikeŋga*. At his death, it and other cult objects are destroyed to indicate that they are of no further use because their owner has died."

Ubogugu of Onitsha: "The *Ikeŋga* is carved from an *Asusuaka* (unidentified) tree which is very rare. The *Ikeŋga* is the ear through which all other 'idols' hear; the mouth through which all speak; the guardian of a family and the distributor of fortunes."

Oranika of Abaja says: "An *Ikeŋga* is owned by an individual and not by a community. A man gets an *Ikeŋga* between the ages of 15 and 20. Such a man's father will buy his son a gun and a matchet and will build him a house. On the day the son takes up his residence therein the *Ikeŋga* will be bought and be consecrated by a *dibia* rubbing the *Ikeŋga* with leaves from the Kola tree (*Cola acuminata*) thus conferring on it supernatural power. Then a celebration takes place and this carving receives the name *Ikeŋga*. The owner then dedicates his right hand to it so that his right hand is the hand of the *Ikeŋga*. The *Ikeŋga* is consecrated by having a big cock sacrificed to it whereof only the owner and the *dibia* may eat. Though it is consecrated with a cock, if the owner's wealth increases, the *Ikeŋga* is annually offered a ram. Formerly a courageous *Ikeŋga* owner would make a human sacrifice to his *Ikeŋga*. A ram was also sacrificed to the *Ikeŋga* if its owner killed an enemy single handed or a leopard or other fierce animal.

"The *Ikeŋga* is hidden in the roof just above the head of his bed. The owner's wife is supposed never to see it. The owner may not take part in the feast of new yams until he has made a sacrifice to his *Ikeŋga*. On the day he does so he will honour his right hand by tying palm leaves round the wrist of his right hand. If his right hand throbs he concludes he will overcome his enemy or kill a wild animal.

"On his death his son or next relative must buy a ram and a cock to offer to the *Ikeŋga* for the last time because thereafter the *Ikeŋga* is destroyed.

"The ram is sacrificed only after all the brave men of the village have run around carrying the ram on their shoulders, singing their praises and those of the deceased. The *Ikeŋga* is considered the god of good luck and of bravery."

Enu of Eke, Udi, says: "The ordinary meaning of *Ikeŋga* is 'right-hand'. The siting of an *ikeŋga* shows whether it is a public or a private one. Thus, around *Eke* there are special *Ikeŋga* housed in special huts and villages are known accordingly. Thus, there are *Orrha-Ikeŋga* and *Abɔ-Ikeŋga* which villages have had *Ikeŋga* from ancient times.

"*Ikeŋga* usually carry a knife in the right hand and a human skull in the left. If an article be stolen its owner goes about the village announcing his loss and calling on the thief to return it by the hand of a third person lest the thief lose his head by the power of the *Ikeŋga*.

"If a person is claimed to have been killed by the power of an *Ikeŋga* then his property is forfeited to the *Ikeŋga* that killed him and his farm land is left uncultivated. The controller of the *Ikeŋga* must take magical steps by sprinkling some 'medicines' in the neighbourhood to stop the destructive power of the *Ikeŋga*."

Kwazu of Agubi remarks: "The meaning attached to *Ikeŋga* varies in the various towns. In my area it implies good fortune. It is also the custom to call one's right hand with which one does brave deeds or secures good fortune, *Ikeŋga*, which is also called *Ewele*. The *Ikeŋga* is never carved in the female form, but in the form of a young man with two horns on his head as a sign of bravery, and with a matchet in his right hand and a human

skull in his left. Such an image is bought by a father for his son a few days after his birth, and remains with him for life. At his death it is brought out and cut into two by a person in the village whose special duty it is to destroy *Ikeŋga*. If a man's *Ikeŋga* is destroyed in a fire he may, by permission of the elders, buy a new one.

"Even if a man is naturally strong and vigorous this virility is attributed to the power of his *Ikeŋga*; furthermore if a weak man by accident throws a stronger, or makes money more easily than others, people give the credit to his *Ikeŋga*. It is due to this attitude that the *Ikeŋga*s of old men and of boys are despised by adults who say that these *Ikeŋgas* can help them no more. People are often heard calling on the *Ikeŋga* for help. The people of Aguleri set aside their seventh month, i.e. September in English, for an annual celebration to all *Ikeŋga* including the town *Ikeŋga* which is as big as a man. All those who own an *Ikeŋga* club together to buy a cow to sacrifice to *Ikeŋga* to ensure good fortune for the town in the ensuing year; during this month no criminal actions are heard or reported." Molokwa of Nimo states: "*Ikeŋga* may be carved only from the wood of the following three trees, Iroko (*Chlorophora excelsa*), Ogilisi also called Egbo (*Newboldia laevis*), Asusuaka (unidentified) which are believed to be in close connection with the spirit world. The carving is done in the thick forest, never in the open or at home. The reason is that the carver may be inspired to carve the image of a living person who on seeing himself thus, would die because his soul had entered the *Ikeŋga*. The carver returns to his home every evening. When the carving is done then special medicine is dropped in its eyes to prevent it from walking. The person who buys such an *Ikeŋga* publicly consecrates it at a feast where he rubs the image with a cock, a kola mat and some white clay and then pours over it some palm wine. The object of this treatment is to restore life to the *Ikeŋga* which had been put in abeyance by the eye-drops.

"On the death of the owner his two hands are never put together in the coffin. His *Aka Ikeŋga* or right hand must always point upwards from the coffin. The *Ikeŋga* is then burnt."

Udize of Umuoji states: "After any victorious fight a ram is sacrificed to the *Ikeŋga* because a ram is as brave as a man. When a brave men dies his *Ikeŋga* is brought out and a ram is tied to it; when he is buried the ram's jaw and the *Ikeŋga* are cut into two and buried with the man so that he may continue to be victorious in the land of the dead.

"If a man's efforts continually meet with no reward that man's regard for his *Ikeŋga* wanes until he cuts it in two and gets another. A man is not allowed to make his own *Ikeŋga*, he must buy it from a wood carver."

Udoji of Ozubulu remarks: "*Ikeŋga* represents the force or energy with which a daring deed is done and is related to the strength in a man's shoulders. A person with powerful shoulders is said to have a strong *Ikeŋga*. The white leaves forming the bud of the oil palm are tied round the neck of the carved *Ikeŋga*. It is also marked with white clay lines just as a man who has performed some daring act has two lines of white clay marked on his left shoulder.

"When a man with a powerful *Ikeŋga* dies, a ram and a cock are tied to the *Ikeŋga*. When the burial is over the relatives of the deceased meet to sacrifice the ram and the cock. First the dead man's weapons, bows, arrows, shield and gun, and if the man were a doctor, his *ɔfɔ* and other things he used in his work are collected together. An arrow is shot towards the four points of the sky which signifies where the deceased had been distinguished for bravery. Then the animals are slaughtered. Their flesh is not eaten by any and every one, but only by those who have the power to resist the attacks of evil spirits. The Ibo believe that any ordinary person eating the flesh of such a sacrifice would speedily perish. This belief is so strong that in many cases the flesh is left untouched because of the powerful *Ikeŋga* of the deceased. Usually the *dibias* (medicine-men) eat the meat because they are supposed to be sufficiently powerful spiritually not to be harmed by the dead man's *Ikeŋga*."

Chukwura of Agbaja states: "*Ikeŋga* is the god of victory and is carved from the sacred *ogilisi* tree. The carving of this sacred object is in the

hands of a family of *Ikeŋga* carvers. The *Ikeŋga* of our ancestors, which is the largest size carved, must first of all be offered the new yams before the priest in charge may eat. If the priest tasted of new yams before offering them to the *Ikeŋga* he would fall sick of a cough."

Ezeani of Awka states: "*Ikeŋga* is a god carved from wood. It represents a man with a pair of horns on his head. These horns twist backwards and the face has the *itfi* design on it. The right hand holds a matchet and the left a human skull. This object is generally kept at the lower edge of the roof where it guards the doorway. It represents the god of fortune and of success and hence fights against anything that opposes it. The place where it is kept is surrounded by the young leaves of the oil palm as a mark of holiness. Its power to kill is shown by the skull it holds.

"Its owner will choose one day in the year to worship it. A cock will be sacrificed to it and if he is off on a long journey he will tell it to accompany and protect him and give him fortune and success. Some promise is made to it then, and if the man is successful he must on his return fulfil this promise otherwise his luck will leave him.

"In honour to this powerful god, one's right hand is called one's *ikenga* hand."

I also found that many of these Ibo villages were divided into two moieties on a dual organization basis.[1] First, there is the name of the village, then there is the division into two moieties, commonly *eze* and *ifite* meaning *upper* and *lower* respectively. In three towns there was also a ward or *onuma* called *ikeŋga*.

Town	*Dual Grouping*		*Ward*
Akozu	Eze	Ifite	Ikeŋga
Isu Ofia	Eze	Ifite	Ikeŋga
Nandu	Eze	Ifite	Ikeŋga

These accounts date back to 1930. Here is one from 1952, Agga Chukuegga (1952, 253) of Omu – Amadioka, Nguru, writes: "Amadioka or Kamalu juju is the god of Thunder, the most powerful god that could kill people. . . This juju is the image of Amadioka, it has two horns, built in the form of a ram, surrounded by a snake."

From these various accounts by locals it is clear that the concepts clustering around the *Ikeŋga* are becoming not only confused but multitudinous. In other words a degeneration has set in. The Ibo description of the *Ikeŋga* being the strength of the right hand, arm or shoulder finds an expression among the Bura of Northern Nigeria. Hesler (1927, 98) writing of the functions of the medicine man remarks: "At other times the medicine-man is not called but they ask the big muscle in the upper arm instead. If the muscle quiver the answer is *Yes*, but if it is still the answer is *No*. (This muscle is asked about many things, for instance, whether a trip should be undertaken)."

Under the name *Ikeŋga* or variants of it, this image and the concepts associated with it are found in surrounding tribes. Thus among the neighbouring Ibibio the word *akaŋa* means fortune or fate and this idea is also found among the Ibo. Thus Aiagu of Umu Ugu in Uru Ufolo of Akampesi, a ward in the Ibo sacred town of Nri Aguku, stated to me that he did not know how it was that much younger men than he had been able to amass wealth sufficient to take the *ɔzɔ*, i.e. highest, title and he had not. He remarked that his *Ikeŋga* was not strong for him. On my suggesting that he borrow a successful man's *Ikeŋga*, he replied that it would not be of any use to him. His good luck or fortune would not thereby be increased because his present state was what *Tfuku* and *Ayaŋu* had ordained. He said he now neglected his *Ikeŋga* which lay in the corner of his *obu*. It thus appears that the sky gods allot to a man a fate or destiny and that the *Ikeŋga* is the means by which you ascertain what is your destiny or fate. Having discovered it the *Ikeŋga* must be treated with due regard so that way to it is not closed or lost.

Among the contiguous Ogoni, Talbot (1932, 98) reports: "Another interesting class of protective juju is that known as *Ikenga*. This is represented in a confusing variety of shapes; but, so far as our experience goes, it must, if not itself horn-shaped, somewhere bear the representation of a horn, usually of a pair – either upon the head, as in most of these imp-like little fetishes, or in relief upon

[1] Jeffreys, M. D. W. "Dual Organization in Africa." *African Studies*. Vol. 5, Nos. 2 & 3, Johannesburg 19.46

the surface, as was the case with a small stool belonging to the head chief of Idu waterside. The word itself means that part of the right arm from shoulder to elbow. The right hand if often called *Aka Ikenga*, i.e. 'hand of the Ikenga'; the other expression being *Aka Nri*, i.e. 'food hand'. As a general rule, these fetishes are small and made in shapes which seem designed for the purpose of being easily portable. Such were the two little ones found in a smithy at Obufie among the Okoba Ibo of Ahoada District. These were described as blacksmith's mascots: 'Good for bringing plenty money and keeping off all bad things.'

"The little horned imp found among the Etche people is used to hold in the hand at night-time, when necessity takes one abroad."

These *Ikeŋga* are reproduced in Fig. VI whence it will be seen that only two horns, like crescent moons, set on an altar is all that remains to represent the ram headed god. Degeneration has proceeded further where a single horn is all that remains. Talbot (b. 1932, 99) reports it: "There is another Ikenga, which is brother to this one. It is a long horn, very useful in war time or against private enemies. If you hold this out in your hand, pointing steadily before you, it will move of its own power to right or left, showing the safe road." Talbot did not realize that these *Ikeŋga* derive from the Ibo. The name *Aka Nri* does not mean the 'food hand', but the *Nri* hand, the hand that draws its strength from Nri, the sacred city of the Ibo. Talbot, led astray by the degenerate or stylised crescent forms that he saw, added a footnote: "There is possible some connection with the 'horns' of the crescent moon, and even with the Cretan double-headed axe worship; *vide The Peoples of Southern Nigeria.* Vol. II, p. 141, *et seq.*"

The evidence will show that this concept and these images derive from the Egyptian ram-headed god, Amen-Ra.

Indications that this type of image and function occurs among the Yoruba is given by Johnson (1921, 28) who writes: "Esu or Elegbara – Satan, the Evil One, the author of all evil, is often and specially propitiated. Offerings are made to it. The representing image is a rough laterite stone upon which libations of palm oil are poured. It is superstitiously believed that the vengeance of this god could be successfully invoked upon an offender by the name of the person being called before the image while nut-oil is being poured on it. The image of a man, with a horn on its head curving backwards, carved in wood and ornamented with cowries, is often carried by its devotees to beg with in public highways. Passers-by who are so disposed may give each a cowry or two, or handfuls of corn, beans, or any product of the field at hand, as he or she may choose. This curved headed figure is called '*Ogo Eligbara*' – the devil's club."

Meyerowitz (1946, XLVII, 27) gives more significant details which show the connection between the Yoruba god, Shango, and the Ram-headed god of ancient Egypt. She writes: "Shango's derivation from Amun becomes quite clear when one realizes that these two deities not only have the same functions but also the same symbols, for both represent predominantly the destructive aspect of the sky with its thunder, lightning and dangerous storms, both have the double axe as an emblem and are symbolized in the meteorite and thunderbolt. (Amun was represented by a meteorite in his temple at Thebes; Shango is represented by meteorites in his temple at Ibadan.) On the other hand they also send the rains and control the waters and are, therefore, to a certain extent, fertility deities Both are solarized and their sacred animal is the ram (in the palace of the Alafin of Oyo a Shango priestess is in charge of the sacred Ram which is allowed to go everywhere unmolested and may eat with impunity anything from the vendors on the market); finally, both are slayers of enemies."

THE RAM-HEADED GOD ELSEWHERE

A study of other African instances of the ram-headed god throws light on the origin of this cult among the Ibo and also on the origin of the name *Ikeŋga.*

Meek (1931, XVIII) writes: "The names Mambu, Kanguma and Kangu refer to the same tribe, i.e. the Kanem tribe still called Kangu, a tribe which is particularly associated with the

ancient Magumi tribal cult of Mune or Mumba, and supposed to be descended from a mythical ancestor Mani or, in other words, the Ram God *Aman* (Mani) of the Zaghawa." A glance at these Zaghawa is instructive.

Palmer (1928, I, 76) writing of a sacred bundle called *mune* described in the Kano Chronicle remarks: "A Zaghawi of Wadai stated that the Zaghawi name for a sacred *Kura'an* covered with skins like the Kano, Dirki, was *Mâni*. When asked whether *Mâni* was anything else but the *Kura'an*, he stated that among the pagan Beli and Zaghawa, *Mani* was a 'ram' which was kept in a cave with other sacred objects, a fact, which if correct, accounts for the curious belief, current even now among Tacruris in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, that, in a cave in Dala hill at Kano, there is a 'stone ram' comparable with those in the Egyptian temples at Luxor and elsewhere.

"In addition to this, *Mune* is the mythical ancestor of several Kanembu tribes or peoples, while at Kano a deity once worshipped at Dala is called *Amani* in the Chronicle. *Amani* is without doubt the same as the Tamashek word *Amanay* 'god', which in compound with *akal* 'earth', makes the titles *Aman-akel* or *Aman-okal*, the clan head or chief. Clearly, *Mune* or *Muni* was originally the Egyptian and Nubian god, Amen or Aman."

Palmer (1926, 105) remarks: "At Wukari (Apa) the ram-god, is called Amma, and a ram is sacrificed ritualistically once a year. In Bornu, the word for ram is N'geloro, which suggests a comparison with the word for the 'Sun' *kengal*, the *Oro* temination being, perhaps the root we have already noticed, meaning disc or orb ... In Tebu it is said that, while an ordinary ram is called *wôna*, the pagan ram-god is called *woni*."

The following note is taken from an unpublished Nigerian Government report by an administrative officer, Mr. G. M. Clifford, who describes the Kengawa. Now "–wa" is suffix among the Hausa meaning "people". So Kengawa means the Kenga people. "There is a tradition amongst the Kengawa or Sokoto province, related by the Alkalin Argungu, which may provide a clue to the Jukun (Kwarrarafa) affinity. It is stated that the ancestors of the Kengawa owed allegiance to those who were afterwards to be known as the Kwarrarafa and were also their priestly caste and dwelt amongst them in Egypt. They accompanied them when, under a ruler of the name of Tatari, they pushed westwards to what is now known as Omdurman and remained with them throughout their many wanderings until some hundreds of years later they built Zaria. From Zaria some of the Kwarrarafa went westwards, others east and south, each party taking its Kengawa priest with it. The eastern movement is said to have ended at Wukari, the western at Zuru and the southern at Attagara (Igala)."

Concerning those Kengawa Harris (1938, 221) continues: "The oldest town in the Zogirma district is Bunza which was founded sometime in the 18th century – during the reign of Sarkin Kebbi Sulimana – by Kengawa from Birnin Amina (in Dendi District – Argungu Emirate). The name Bunza appears to be derived from the long haired goat (Buzza) which was an object of veneration and worship among the original inhabitants."

Clifford (1928, LVIII, 261) later on describes a wooden image at Idah, the capital of the Igala by the name of *Okinga*. Writing of the ear-piercing of the newly elected Atah of Idah he states: "A cock is sacrificed to the *okinga* so that the ear may heal quickly ... The Okinga is represented by a small figure of a man, carved from any sort of wood, between six inches and one foot in height. I have been unable to discover up to date its exact significance. The blood of the cock is poured over it."

The Igala culture is known to have derived from that of the Jukun consequently one would expect to find evidence of a ram-cult among them. Meek (1931, 272) writing of the Jukun says: Both the cults of Adom and Adang therefore are at the present time associated with dead kings; but there is at Wukari a fertility cult called Ado, which is not so associated. The word *ado* is the common root for sheep, being pronounced as *adô* at Wukari, *adung* among the Jibu, *dunga* among the Donga Jukun, and *odinga* among the Kona. There is the possibility, therefore, that the titles of the cults of Adom, Adang, and Ado mean 'The Sheep', the sheep or ram being the symbol of the sun. This is further suggested by the fact that the word for

the Sun or Supreme Being among the Kir, who are neighbours of the Jibu and Kona, is Adung or Dung. The Kir claim that the Kona cult of Adung was obtained from them."

Talbot (1932, 24) writing of the Ibo of Aro-Chuku of Southern Nigeria says: "In connection with the worship of Amade Onhia a somewhat interesting point came to light – namely that, at his festivals, a ram must be offered in sacrifice ... and an image of one of these beasts, modelled with unusual skill and care, is often to be found in shrines raised in the Thunder God's honour. In one case, though the exigencies of material caused the rendering of the body to be somewhat primitive, the treatment of the head was so fine and spirited that it might have served for the clay model of an old Greek bronze. At Obokohia a ram's head in *cire perdue* was obtained. This was said to be very ancient and appeared to be regarded as one of the most treasured objects of the Thunder God's cult. One man indeed stated that, in olden times, Amade Onhia used to appear under this form to favoured worshippers. So far the statement stands without confirmation; but the bronze head was an object of peculiar veneration, and may now be seen at the British Museum.

"Another link with the ancient belief that the ram was a personification of the sun may perhaps be found in the Kalabari practice of offering a white ram, every alternate seven years, to the sea god Obozi. At the beginning of the sacrificial cycle a human being, who must be pale of skin, was always offered up, so that the mouth of the principal rivers might not silt up and prevent trading vessels from entering the estuary. After an interval of seven years a white ram, together with white fowls, was sacrificed, and this offering was repeated whenever the bar threatened to increase and impede trade. When the reason for the choice of a *White ram* for this purpose was asked, the chief in question replied: 'I know only that such was the law handed down from our forefathers; but I once heard that it was connected with the sinking of the sun into the sea every night. These are, however, matters of far-off times, and we have long ago forgotten the precise cause for which they were ordered.' "

Frobenius (1913, I, 210, 225) described an extensive ram-god cult among the Yoruba. Reporting the legend of origin of the Yoruba Thunder God Shango he writes: "But there had been two different Shangos. The elder was the Takpa or Taba, and the other the Mesi, Shango ... Mesi Shango are said to be always represented on horseback ... Shango Taba was always shown in the guise of a ram. There are two such ram-masks in Ojo, forming the lid of a casket which had held the 'fire-medicine' of this God ... The cult of the ram-headed God. Even approximately, no greater sacrifices and ritual are devoted to any god in Yorubaland than to Shango, the King and the God. ... The poor kill but one ram and keep holiday for three days; but the rich let the high priest sacrifice a large number of these animals and spread the feast over several weeks. A neighbour of ours in Ibadan was an Omo-Shango ... who kept on sacrificing rams for twenty one days ... One of my friends in Fessan, ... told me of a popular tradition current among the mountain shepherds there, according to which the sun is said to be a ram who hurls lightning out of the dark clouds ... Herodotus mentions Amman as having been the chief God of the Thebans in his own time. The legend says that Herakles, come what might, was determined to see Zeus, but that the Ruler of Olympus was unwishful to be looked upon. Yielding at length to protracted prayer, Zeus skinned a ram, cut off the animal's head and held it over his own divine countenance, clad his godlike body in the fleece, and showed himself to Herakles in this disguise. Since then the Egyptians made the image of Zeus ram-headed, and the Ammanites, neighbours of the Egyptians, derived their effigies from this source. The Egyptians slew a single ram on one day of the year only, namely, the Jovine festival, skinned it and garbed the statue of Zeus with it, placing then an image of Herakles by its side. When this had been done they contended for the body of the sacred animal and then buried it in a sacred vault or cave ... Professor Flammand found large paintings in Algiers, south of Oran, on the cliffs, depicting the ram necklet-ted, and crowned with the sun, whose rays are similar in form to the Uraus serpent. I myself was

told that the Fezzanese still have a traditional legendary memory of the ram as a Sun – and Storm–God, and the Arabian explorer of the Middle Ages, El Bekri, gives an account of the worship of the rām in the region of Sus."

Meek (1931, 192) writes of the sun and the ram as follows: "... throughout the Benue regions there is a story which connects the sun with a ram. Among some Jukun the story runs as follows. The sun fell to earth one evening among some women who were winnowing corn. One of the women seized it and found that it was nothing but a ram. So she tied up the ram in her house, and the house straightway became filled with light. Next morning the sun did not rise, and the king promptly gave an order that if anyone was concealing anything strange in his house he was to reveal it. So the woman went to the king and said she had found a strange ram. She was ordered to release it at once; the ram went up to heaven and the sun shone once more ... It is possibly not accidental that the Hausa words for sun and ram, viz. *rana* and *rago*, contain a prefix which is the name of the Egyptian sun-god (Ra) ... we shall see later that the Jukun cults of Adang, Adom, and Ado were probably in origin sun-cults and that the titles of these cults mean 'The sheep.' "

In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan traces of this old Egyptian influence of the ram-god are still discernible. Budge (1922, XIII) writes: "Tradition transferred the horns of Amen to Alexander, and ancient Arab writers called Alexander *Dhu'l-Karnên*, i.e. 'provided with two horns' a title that translates exactly one of the titles of Amen, *Sept Abui*."

Germain (1948, No. 35, pp. 93–124) discusses the cult of the sacred ram in North Africa. He draws attention to the antiquity of the cult by relating it to the Berbers, Egyptians and back to Badarian times. He also remarks on the persistence of the cult which has survived the Mohammedan invasion and the oppressions of Islam. Germain points out that traces of this cult can still be detected in the names of tribes and villages that bear the name of, "those of the Ram"; in horned deities presiding over certain springs; in persons clad in rams' skins appearing in the frivolities of the carnivals.

P. G. Harris (1938, 28) writing of the accession ceremony of the Sarkin Kebbi in Northern Nigeria says: "Kokani summons the Magaje, Dan Gara, Inname the Galadima, Dikko, the Sarkin Burmi and Kundua and together they go to the house of the Sarkin Kebbi taking with them a white ram. The shaker of the calabash rattle is called within and the gateway of the house is closed leaving the drummers sitting by their drums outside. The white ram is slain and flayed by the servants of Kokani. The skin is given to the newly appointed Sarkin Kebbi to wear, the neck of the ram is tied to his right arm and his right hand is wrapped with the hair of the tail. Kokani now ties the skin of the neck round his own arm and he and the Sarkin Kebbi take up a fighting stance. Both parties feint for openings and eventually the Sarkin Kebbi delivers a mighty, if imaginary, blow where upon Kokani falls to the ground as if he has been knocked out. The rattle is shaken and the rattler cries out, 'Kanta has won and overthrown the men': the drummers hear the rattle from outside and take up the drum beat of Kanta. Thereupon everyone hears the news, the chiefs come in and make obeisance announcing to the crowd that once again a descendant of the great Kanta has overcome his opponent. The Sarkin Kebbi now takes off his 'walki' or loin pelt and the Galadima dresses him in the turban and gown provided by Kokani and all counsellors prostrate themselves before their Sarki. The gateway is now opened to every one who comes in to do him obeisance as Sarkin Kebbi."

A number of points indicate clearly that here is a sun-cult. Meek (1931, 22) writes: "I have suggested (p. 184) that the term Kisra is a variant of the Hausa word 'sarki' or seraki', and that both words are the equivalent of 'Se Ra' (son of Ra) which was a royal title in ancient Egypt. The 'ki is merely an affix."

The mock fight, the crowning and the investiture are parts of the sun-cult coronation ceremony accurately analysed by Hocart in his book *Kingship* (Oxford, 1927).

White is in Africa associated with the sun. The eze Oreri, or a divine king in the Umundri Ibo group near Awka, Onitsha Province, Southern

Nigeria, told me in 1930 that in his town he was the sun. At his coronation he was, when exhumed, whitewashed from head to foot with a slip of white clay so that he rose with a white and shining body. Later on he had to eat white clay. This procedure is illumined when one finds that in ancient Egypt the belief was that those who accompanied Ra in the sun boat were, according to Budge (1929, 21) "arrayed in light and fed upon light".

Hence the use of a white ram, symbolical of the sun. This ram's white hide clothes the new ruler and is also eaten by him and his followers.

This clothing of a sun-cult king in a ram's skin is reminiscent of Herodotus' account of what happened to Zeus.

As result of the Arab conquests there has been considerable culture change but the cult of the ram-headed god can still be seen in the Sudan from MacMichael's (1922, I, 248) account of the names and functions of the indigenous rulers. The account runs as follows:

"The term (*Mangie*) is said to be of Hamag origin: its derivation is uncertain. The rank of *Mangel* carried with it the right to wear the *takia* which was worn also by the Meks of Sennár. This '*takia*' may be described as a close-fitting hat with stuffed flaps or wings resembling horns. Werne describes it (p. 159), and says the *Mek* of Fazoghli, the Sheikh of the Beni 'Amir, the Sheikh of the 'Abdulláb, and the *Mek* of the Ga'aliin were entitled to wear it. To these may be added the Sheikh of the Hammada and the Sheikh of the Kamátir of Khashm el Bahr district. The Ghodiat of Kordofán say their chief in olden days also bore the title and are corroborated by others. I have myself seen *Mek* Zaybak of Rashad, a Nuba hill south of Tekali much subject in the eighteen century to Fang influences, wearing a *takia*.

"Jackson (p. 95) thus describes the investiture of an 'Abdullabi *Mangil*. 'The newly appointed Sheikh first received a *Tagia*, which consists of two horns filled with cotton; this he put upon his head before taking his seat on the throne called *Kukur*; he was then addressed with the title of *Mek*, and saluted: "may your reign be prosperous." ' The Sultan then kissed his hand, and after wishing him success, ordered the state drum to be beaten in order to announce that the king had been crowned . . . The newly crowned king then returned to his people with the *tagia* and *kukur*, for which reason the Abdelab were called 'the people of the *tagia* and *kurkur*'.

"A *Mangil* was invested not only with a *takia* turban but with a ('emma), a sword, a robe and, perhaps, a *heikali*, or gold chain (see Jackson pp. 92 and 95); and it is impossible not to connect these insignia with those of 'Jausar who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet in the thirteenth century at Bujara's, the capital of the district which lay between Aswan and Korosko (see p. 177).

"Deherain (p. 59, quoting Junke, Reïsin, l. 101 and 108) says: 'Le roi (s.c. of Sennor) remet à celui qu'il agrée le signe du commandement, le Taquie el Qurne, bonnet de velours ou de soie bariolée orné de deux appendices en forme de cornes.' The Fung king was allowed by the Turks after the conquest to retain the right to wear the *takia*.

"At the conquest of Darfur, hats of the same description were found in the Sultan's camp. They were worn on gala days by his chief bugler and the *Khashkangia* (blunderbuss-men) of the royal guard."

The consensus of opinion, with which I am in agreement is that the cult of the ram-headed god in West Africa derives from Egypt. Thus Meek (1931, 192) writes: "Amon appears to have usurped in ancient Egypt the functions of Khnumu the shaper, and to have become regarded as the fashioner of men and of all other living things. Like Khnumu he is represented by a horned mask resembling a ram's head. The use of horned masks is common among the Jukun, particularly in connection with the cult of Aku-Ma."

In conclusion I cannot do better than quote Wainwright's (1949, 35, 173) summary of this cult: "On the Niger a little north of the junction of the Benue lies the country of the Nupe, whence the god Shango came southwards and southwestwards into Yoruba land, i.e. the hinterland of Lagos, and his derivation from Amun is unmistakable. He is the sky-god and, as a sky-god should in those regions, he sends the rain and hurls the thunder-

bolt. His sacred animal is the ram, and one lives in the palace at Oyo in charge of a Shango priestess. Rams are sacrificed to him at his great festival in November and by those who can afford it in great numbers. His image at Oyo has a ram's mask, the cover of the casket which holds his 'fire medicine' is in the form of a pair of ram's heads, and the energy of a fresh horse is compared to the vigour of 'Shango's rams.' All this is very suggestive of Amun, as was seen originally by Frobenius and more recently by Dr. Meyerowitz. Not only was Amun a ram-god, as is well known, but the present writer has recently shown that he was a sky-god as well and almost certainly had a meteorite as his sacred object. Fortunately, we can be even more definite in ascribing Shango's derivation of Amun, for we have material evidence that it was so. It is provided by the badge of the Shango priest which is a crudely made replica of the quite common ram's head symbol of Amun wearing the *wsk* collar. In fact, the Egyptian *wsk* collar had quite a vogue among the Yoruba for that of the priest of Oloken was of that shape also.

"The identification of the ram with the storm is, however, by no means confined to the Yoruba, but is widespread throughout West Africa. Far to the east in Calabar and the Cameroons it is said that thunder is a great ram which marches across the sky, and in the same neighbourhood another tribe sacrifices a ram to the thunder-god. Farther away still, this time to the north-west of Yorubaland, the idea is found again in northern Togo-land, also among the Mossi of the Upper Volta Province, and very much further on again among the Mandé of Senigambia."

The Egyptian origin for the Ram-headed god of West Africa fits in with that of the Winged Solar Disc of the Ibo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AGGA CHUKUEGGA "History of the Kamalu Juju." *Nigeria*. Lagos, 1952.

BASDEN, G. T. *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. London, 1921.

BUDGE, A. E. WALLIS *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek*. London, 1922.

— *The Book of the Dead* (British Museum). London, 1929.

BURDO, A. *The Niger and the Benue*. London, 1880.

CLIFFORD, G. M. Unpublished Government Report. *The Chiefdom of Igala*. 1934?

FROBENIUS, L. *The Voice of Africa*. London, 1913.

GERMAIN, G. "Le culte du beliér en Afrique du Nord." *Hesperis*, No. 35, 1948.

HARRIS, P. G. Unpublished Government MSS. Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer. (Roneod) Sokoto, 1938.

JOHNSON, O. *A History of the Yorubas*. London, 1921.

MACMICHAEL, H. A. *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. Cambridge, 1922.

MEEK, C. K. *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*. Oxford, 1937.

— *A Sudanese Kingdom*. London, 1931.

MEYEROWITZ, E. L. R. "Notes on the King-god Shango and his Temple at Ibadan, Southern Nigeria." *Man*, Vol. XLVI, No. 46.

PALMER, H. R. *Mai Idris of Bornu*. Lagos, 1926.

— *Sudanese Memoirs*. Lagos, 1928.

READ, C. H. and DALTON, O. H. *Antiquities from the City of Benin*. London, 1899.

SCHÖN, C. F. and CROWTHER, S. "The Niger Expedition." *Schön and Crowther's Journal*. London, 1842.

SETON, R. S. "Installation of an Attah of Idah." *J.R.A.I.* Vol. LVIII. 1928.

TALBOT, P. A. *Southern Nigeria*. Oxford, 1926.

— *Tribes of the Niger Delta*. London, 1932.

THOMAS, N. W. *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*. Part I. Law and Custom. London, 1913.

— *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*. Part IV. Law and Custom of the Ibo of the Asaba District. London, 1914.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A. "Pharaonic Survivals, Lake Chad to West Coast." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. Oxford, 1949.

Fig. 1

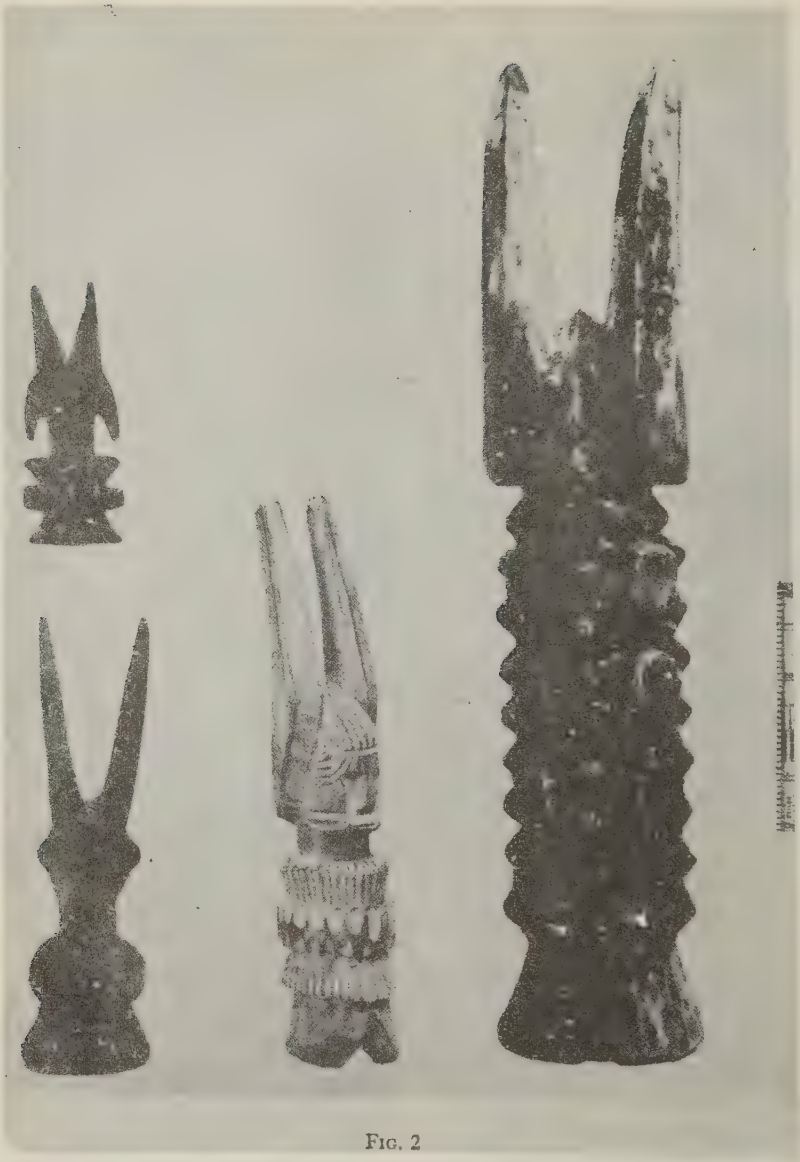


Fig. 2

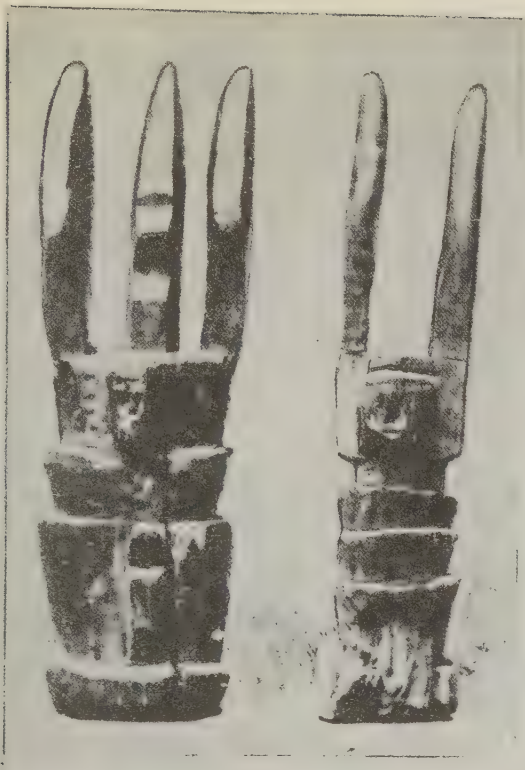


FIG. 3

FIG. 4

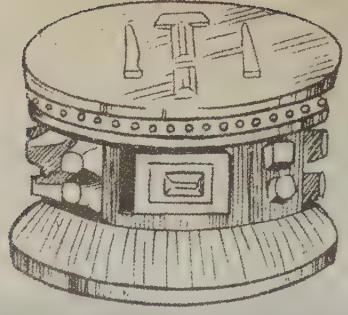


Fig. 7.—Ikenga in House of Chief Okku of Idu. (See p. 98.)

Fig. 8.—Two Small Ikenga used as Blacksmiths' Mascots. (See p. 98.)

Fig. 6

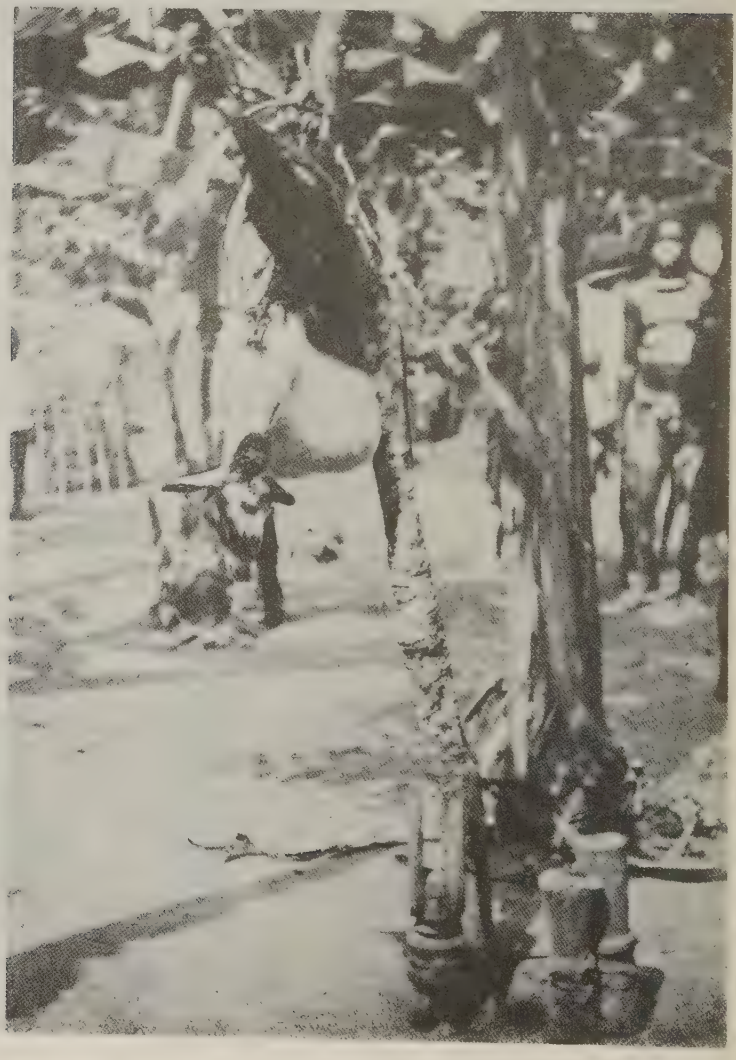


Fig. 5

SOME TONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE KIKUYU LANGUAGE*

LYNDON HARRIES

1. Accumulative evidence provided by analyses of the tonal systems of Bantu languages establishes the truth of the assumption that Proto-Bantu had a two-level system of tones in which every syllabic phoneme was simultaneous with a high or low tone. Greenberg has observed[1] that among the investigations which obscure the correctness of this assumption is Armstrong's study of Kikuyu,[2] a language spoken in the Kenya Highlands by nearly a million people. The following notes provide a commentary on Armstrong's book and are meant to show how the analysis made by Armstrong may be reduced to a two-level tonal system.

2. In a language like Kikuyu with syllabic tonemes, tonal classification may best be effected by seeking to identify the tonal behaviour of elements which, for the practical purpose of classification, may be distinguished as lexical and grammatical elements.[3] For example, in verbals the grammatical suffix should find separate classification from that of the radical.[4] Lexical extensions to the radical, e.g. the elements *-aner-*in-*reaner-* 'eat together' (cf. *-re-* 'eat'), may have distinctive tonal behaviour. No attempt was made by Armstrong to combine the analytical approach within different contexts with simple observation of tonal patterns in complete word-forms. No satisfactory description of tonal behaviour in the texts provided is consequently possible for the student of Armstrong's book. Furthermore, the recording of isolated word-forms by Armstrong resulted in failure to observe certain regular tonal principles in Kikuyu, e.g. the operation of tone-shift in certain syntactical positions.

THE VERBAL

3. Armstrong's five tonal classes of the Kikuyu verbal are reducible to three, viz., High, Low and Rising, denoted in this article as Classes 1, 2 and 3 respectively. These classes give only two tonal patterns for each tense-form. This means that although there are three tonal classes of the radical (a verbal is classified tonally according to the tone of the radical), Class 3 conforms in tonal behaviour either to Class 1 or Class 2 according to a tonal principle which is explained in para. 5. The tone of the radical in the simple imperative is the basic tone, e.g.[5]:

Táha (Draw water!)	(High)
Rɔrâ (Look)!	(Low)
ðâáka (Play!)	(Rising)

A distinction has to be made in the tonal analysis of Kikuyu between the basic tone and the speech tone, since the tone actually heard on a syllable (the speech tone) may be the shifted basic tone of the preceding syllable.

4. The principle of tone-shift in Kikuyu[6] whereby the basic tone of a syllabic phoneme appears on the syllable next after it, operates in

* Reprinted by courtesy of *Word*, Vol. 8, No. 2, August 1952.

[1] Greenberg, Joseph H., "The Tonal System of Proto-Bantu", *Word*, 4: 196-208 (1948).

[2] Armstrong, Lilias A. *The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu* (London: 1940).

[3] It is recognized that so-called grammatical elements may have lexical values.

[4] The radical is defined as the minimum lexical element of the verbal, i.e. the root without the grammatical suffix.

[5] The acute accent denotes a high tone, a vertical accent denotes a mid tone, a circumflex accent a rising tone, and the absence of accent a low tone. In a geminate vowel sequence (long vowel) the accent is marked over each vowel.

[6] First observed by M. Guthrie and investigated in detail by the writer of the present article.

grammatical tense-forms of the verbal, i.e. in forms with suffixes, prefixes, or/and objectival concords, e.g.:

Type A. *Twatahíré máá́é náNjéérí* *-táh-*
(Njeri and I drew water)
Type B. *Twarɔriré maðaakɔ* *-rɔr-*
(We watched the sports)

In Kikuyu the simple verbal has to be stabilised either by an objectival nominal or by an extra-prefix, *ne-*, *nɔ-*, *ti-*, *tɔ-*, etc. The tonal patterns of verbals without an extra-prefix are taken as the norm for formulating general tonal principles.

5. Class 3 in our present tonal classification of radicals corresponds with Armstrong's Class II. It consists of radicals with a long vowel and with a rising tone in the simple imperative. Class 3 radicals conform either to types A or B in tense-forms according to the basic tone or tones of the grammatical suffix, i.e. with basic High suffix the verbal gives type A, and with basic Low suffix, type B. This maintains the two-level tonal system. Verbals conforming in all tenses to type B, i.e. our Class 2, have a short vowel in the radical. In distinguishing the types of pattern in tense-forms, no separate classification is needed for tense-forms with radical of Class 3.

Examples:

With basic High suffix *-été*. radical *-cêêr-*
A. *Twacɛɛrété Gécuká* (We had visited Nairobi)
Cf. with basic Low radical *-rem-*:
B. *Twaremeté námerɔ* (We had cultivated with digging-sticks)

Again with basic Low suffix *–aga*.

B. *Tɔyaacɛɛraga Gecuká* (We shall be visiting Nairobi)
Cf. with basic High radical *-ðɔ́ɔ́m-*
A. *Tɔyaaðɔɔmága kerikanerɔ* (We shall be reading the Bible).

6. Lexical extensions to the radical, whether separable or inseparable, are tonally neutral, i.e. they have no significant alternance of tone. This makes possible identification of Armstrong's Class III with her Class I. Armstrong's Class V, mostly examples of vowel-radicals (radicals with either the first or the second consonant zero) can be seen, by observation of tone-shift, to belong to the same tonal class, Armstrong's and our Class I. Allowing for the shifted tone of the radical, all other syllables of the extension to the radical, whether lexical or grammatical, are High or Low in speech according to the basic tone of the grammatical suffix, e.g.:

With basic High suffix:
Class I radical, *-rómˆ-*

A. *Twaromírέ íkaí rémwé* (We took a mouthful of food)
A. *Twaromórórírέ íríɔ́ cɪɔðɛ* (We grabbed all the food)

Class 3 radical *-nyíít-*
A. *Twanyiitírέ mwicí ótúko* (We caught the thief by night)
A. *Twanyiitókánírίέ náákê* (I wrestled with him)

Class 2 radical *-rut-*
B. *Twarutiré mbía igéré* (We paid four shillings)
B. *Twarutorórírέ ŋɔ́mbɛ cɪɔðɛ* (We drove out all the cattle)

With basic Low suffix:
The same sentences may be employed with different tense-sign. The tense-sign *-a- -irɛ* (above) has reference to time before yesterday, and the sign *-raa- -irɛ* to yesterday or to time reference specifically indicated by an accompanying nominal, e.g., *iyɔ*, the day before yesterday.

A. *Toráárómírɛ ikaí rémwé*
A. *Toráárómórorirɛ íriɔ́ cɪɔðɛ*
B. *Toraanyíítirɛ mwicí ótúko*
B. *Toraanyíítokaniriɛ naakê*
B. *Toraarútirɛ mbía igéré*
B. *Toraarútororirɛ ŋɔmbɛ cɪɔðɛ*

7. To establish the tonal class of a verbal with one or more extension to the radical (whether separable or inseparable), it is sufficient to observe the basic tone of the radical.

8. The regular operation of tone-shift in Kikuyu is blocked by three tonal sequences in verb-forms with pattern of type A. These sequences occur only

in pre-radical position. In post-radical position an identical tonal sequence shows regular tone-shift. The blocking of tone-shift gives rise to three, instead of two, tonal patterns, but only in a very few tenses in the sequences described below, e.g.:

With basic High tense-sign *-rée- -á*:

A. *Toreerígá óhɔrɔ́ ócio bíó* (We shall turn it down flat)

B. *Toreekínya Móraŋa ótúko* (We shall reach Fort Hall by night).

Cf. with blocked tone-shift:

Toréényiitá mbía hóáé-ínê (We shall get our money this evening). (i)

Note that the basic High tone of *-rée-* is not shifted on to the radical. The same blocking of tone-shift is noted in pre-radical position as between subjectival concord and radical, or between objectival concord and radical, but in each case the basic tonal sequence is one of the three following sequences:

	Pre-radical element	*Radical*
(i)	High	Cl. 3
(ii)	Rising	Cl. 1
(iii)	Rising	Cl. 3

Further examples:

A. *Tórátetá máná* (We are grumbling for nothing) (ii)

B. *Toraaréra nekecha* (We weep with sorrow) (Normal shift)

Cf. with Cl. 3 radical:

A. *Torádánungá máguíá* (We smell oil) (iii)

Again

A. *Torátomíre magutá íra* (We sent the oil yesterday) (ii)

B. *Toraagórire magutá íyo* (We bought oil the day before yesterday) (Normal shift)

Cf. with Cl. 3 radical:

B. *Toraanínire magutá hóáe* (We finished the oil last evening). (iii)

9. Comparative analysis between the basic tones of grammatical elements shows correspondence in Bantu languages of widely separated areas. In Kikuyu, the subjectival concords have the following basic tones:

First and second persons, singular and plural are Low.

Third person singular and plural, and all other classes are High.

The objectival concords have the following basic tones:

Each of the three persons singular, and Classes 4 and 9 are Low,

Each of the three persons plural, and all other classes are High.

10. In negative tenses of the Kikuyu verbal, tone reversal operates. This means that the tonal alternance between basic High and basic Low in the affirmative is reversed in the negative. The tonal interval in negative tenses is from High to Mid, and not, as in the affirmative, from High to Low, though in a few tenses there is tonal drop to Low. A Mid tone in a negative tense may therefore be either reversed High or un-reversed Low. If tone reversal does not operate in the verbal, e.g. in tenses with tense-signs *-kaa- -a*, *-kaa- -agu*, and - *-agu*, then the speech tones of the governed nominal are reversed. Reversal of tone applies also to the basic tones of subjectival and objectival concords.

Examples of tone-reversal:

Cl. I radical *-tóm-*

(a) *Twatomíré mágutá téné* (We sent oil long ago)

(b) *Tótátómíré mágutá téné* (We didn't send oil before)

(— — — — — | — — — | — —)

In (a) the basic tones are: Radical, High. Tense-sign, Low, High.

In (b) the basic tones are reversed to: Radical, Mid. Tense-sign, High, Mid.

Cl. 2 radical *-gor-*

(a) *Twagoriré mágutá téné* (We bought oil long ago)

(b) *Tótágórírè mágutà tènè* (We didn't buy oil before)

(— — — — — | — — — | — —)

In (a) the basic tones are: Radical, Low, Tense-sign, Low, High.

In (b) the basic tones are reversed to: Radical, High. Tense-sign, High, Mid.

In these examples the speech tone of the suffix is firm, i.e., it retains its tonal identity. In certain tenses, the speech tone of the suffix is free in that it loses its own tonal identity and shares the reversed basic tone of the radical. It has been noted that the tonal implication of Cl. 3 radicals is according to the basic tone of the suffix. In negative tenses the implication of Cl. 3 radicals, in relation to tonal behaviour in the affirmative, is reversed if the suffix in the negative is firm, and is not reversed if the suffix in the negative is free. Examples of reversal in the governed nominal:

Tòtíkáágàyá mágútà mɔɔðɛ (We will not divide the oil)
(— — — — — | — — — | _ _)

Tòtíkáánlìná wéérá rocìó (We will not finish the work tomorrow).
(— — — — — | — — | _ — —)

Cf. with corresponding affirmative sentences:
Tokaagayá magutá mɔ́ɔ́ðɛ
Tokaaniina weera rocíó

Note that the speech tones of the governed nominal are reversed, *magutá* and *weera* after a positive form but *mágútà* and *wéérá* after a negative. There is no reversal in the verbal in each negative sentence.

11. The presence of regular mid-tones in negative tenses can therefore be related to a two-level system, but only through observation of tone-shift and tone-reversal.

THE NOMINAL

12. For nominals the same method of tonal classification as for verbals is found to be effective. As in most Bantu languages, there are many Kikuyu nominals which have the same radical as that in a related verbal, e.g. *oðɛri* light, cf. *-ðɛr-* be bright, be clean; *kerɔtɔ* a dream, cf. *-rɔt-* dream. The tonal correspondence between related radicals is regularly maintained in Kikuyu so that if the tonal class of the verbal radical is known, the related nominal has a radical of the same class. The suffix is a lexical element in nominals and may have predictable tone, e.g. *-i* and *-ɔ* in nominals related to verbals have basic Low tone, *-ɛ* and *-u* have basic High tone. Tonal classification of nominals is according to the basic tone of radical and suffix. The nominal prefix is tonally neutral. In nominals with a radical related to that of a Cl. 3 verbal tonal behaviour corresponds to that in the verbal, i.e. it accords with the basic tone of the suffix. So that nominals of this type are in either Class IA (Low, Low) or Class IIB (High, High) e.g. *maðaakɔ* IA, sports, *moðɛ́ɛ́cɛ́* IIB, beak.

Loan words and other nominals unrelated to verbals may have fixed tonal patterns. These fixed patterns, five in number, have no tone-shift and remain firm in all positions. Study of these fixed patterns will be the subject of a subsequent article.

RETIREMENT OF PROFESSOR DOKE

This is virtually the first number of this journal for which Professor C. M. Doke has borne no responsibility. The reason is that at the end of 1953 Professor Doke retired from his post as head of the Department of Bantu Studies in the University of the Witwatersrand after serving it for 30 years. This is not the occasion for us to try and estimate the extent and value of Professor Doke's contributions to African studies. For one thing, we know that he means to continue them in his retirement. But we can assure Professor Doke that his services to the African languages he loves so well are fully appreciated and will be well remembered far beyond the circle of his own friends and students. Among his major achievements stand the great Zulu-English dictionary, the authoritative grammatical and phonetical studies in Zulu, Lamba and other languages ; and the translation of the Bible into Lamba. It is enough at this moment simply to record our sense of regret that he has retired at his own request and our hope that he will enjoy his years of leisure and make them fruitful in the way he wishes them to be. We know that our readers will share this sentiment with us, his colleagues, who must now carry on this journal without the guidance and direction he gave it all these years.

CORRESPONDENCE

Origin of Fanagalo

From Patrick Duncan,
Maseru, Basutoland.

In your issue of March 1953, Mr. D. T. Cole, in a very interesting article on Fanagalo, suggests that this language was originated by the Indians. His main reasons for this derivation are (1) that one of its Zulu names is *isikula* (the coolie-language), and (2) that in 1908 Brother Trapp described it as being mainly used as a means of communication between the Indians and the Zulus.

I wonder whether this can be so. The Indians arrived only in 1860. Yet, already in January 1866, Canon Callaway mentioned it in the preface to his *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus* (Pietermaritzburg & London, 1868). He was speaking of the way in which he had learnt Zulu. He said that he had begun to learn it in 1854, that his method had been to write at the dictation of Zulus, and that he had been careful to avoid the use of what can only have been Fanagalo, for this is how he describes his experience: "In common conversation the native naturally condescends to the ignorance of the foreigner, whom . . . he thinks unable to speak the language of the Zulu; he is also pleased to parade his own little knowledge of broken English and Dutch; and thus there is a danger of picking up a miserable gibberish, composed of anglicised Kafir, and kafirised English and Dutch words, thrown together without any rule but the caprice and ignorance of the speaker. But whilst such a compound might answer for the common relations between whitemen and natives, yet it must be wholly insufficient to admit of any close communication of mind with mind, and quite inadequate to meet the requirements of scientific investigation."

Surely this description is as accurate of Fanagalo to-day as it was then. Surely in six years (even allowing that Callaway was speaking of 1866, and not 1854 which the passage seems to require) it would not have been possible for the indentured Indians to have produced a language which he found Whites and Zulus using – and a language which as he states is a compound of English, Dutch and Zulu. Again, if the Indians had had anything to do with it, surely Callaway would have known about it.

The early Portuguese in Southern Africa

From the Rev. SIDNEY R. WELCH,
The Monastery, Sea Point, Cape.

In your review (March 1953) of my books, I am accused of hostility to the Dutch. Now two classes of Dutch figure in our long history: the Hollanders, and our own Cape Burghers who were the founders of our South African people. In regard to the Hollanders, I have found much to criticize in the policy of their East India Company; as indeed the Cape Burghers did. But I have shown for the first time how two of the most noble and learned Hollanders, Grotius and Oldenbarneveldt, would have made an admirable and peaceful division of interests with the Portuguese, if they had been permitted to do so. I do not conceal my admiration of the fine qualities of our Cape Burghers, who founded our South African people, because I maintain that they deserve such a tribute.

I am amazed that your reviewer should ignore the great worth and volume of the Portuguese literature about the Kafir tribes, which the Portuguese produced, as I have described it.

Then there is the scientific, literary and cultural work of the Portuguese which introduced South Africa to the more intellectual nations of Europe, through Portuguese and Latin publications.

Most of the quotations of your reviewer deal with my account of the religious attitude of the Portuguese. That is important; as religion was a matter of real concern to the great leaders of that nation, who yet showed a toleration of other beliefs which is unique in history. Nothing has been more misrepresented in English books than the nature of Portuguese beliefs. The first splendid exception lies in the work of my old friend and master, Dr. McCall Theal. He was too broad-minded to accept the current abuse of the religious tenets of the Portuguese, but had no means of stating definitely what they were. Then there was the fine work of another friend of mine, Professor Edgar Prestage, who died recently, and who was long the great authority on Portuguese history in London University. I have many letters of his in which he congratulates me for having gone into sources which he never thought of tapping.

(This letter has been curtailed. *Editor*.)

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Native Law in South Africa. S. M. SEYMOUR. (Juta, Cape Town: 1953.) 280 pp. 52*s*. 6*d*.

Following in his father's footsteps, Mr. Seymour has produced the best text-book on Native law that has yet been compiled. The book W. M. Seymour wrote and Juta's published in 1911 was the first of its kind and has long been a rare collector's piece. Now Mr. Seymour, who is an attorney in the Transkei, has written a new and much better book. To do this he must have pored over the Native law reports for many years. The arduous nature of this task will be fully appreciated only by those who, chasing elusive cases, have suffered from the lack of proper indices, including a cumulative index, and of digests and cross-references for the official Native law reports. The author has not only combed these reports; he is also well aware of the importance of the occasional decisions of the Supreme Courts on points of Native law, and he has referred to them whenever he could. It is the degree of affectionate care lavished on its compilation that gives this book its distinctive quality.

Another feature that puts the book on a solid foundation is the emphasis laid in the second chapter on the conflict of laws. Native law is recognized in South Africa only to an extent which it is difficult to define. Mr. Seymour makes an original contribution in coming closer to a satisfactory analysis of the problem of recognition than any previous writer. He points out (p. 22) that, since Native law deals mostly with rights flowing from status, a significant question is how far a Native litigant who has partly but not completely

abandoned Native law and custom can fall under the system of law, whether Common or Native, which does *not* govern his status. Similarly, in discussing (p. 69) the thorny issue of the nature of dowry, the author concludes that "a Native woman's rights are not based on any contract she has made, but are conferred on her by the Native law of status as a result of the dowry contract (to which she was not a party)".

The substance of this book is so rich that one points to certain minor weaknesses only in the hope that they will be repaired in the second edition. The short third chapter on "Native law and litigation" is out of place in its present position. Nor is it well to treat the procedure of chiefs' courts as if it were of some importance than the practice of the Native Commissioners' Courts and the Native Appeal Courts. It would surely have been better to handle all matters of procedure, including prescription, in a chapter devoted to the practice of the courts, and to emphasizing the importance and the defects of the rules of court specially gazetted on 9 November 1951.

Writing in comparative isolation, Mr. Seymour is not apparently aware that the general literature on primitive law has grown considerably in the last twenty years. If one accepts the necessary distinction between primitive law and archaic law made by William Seagle's in his great book *The History of Law* (New York: 1946), Bantu law should be regarded as archaic, not primitive. Some *obiter dicta* in the book require revision in this light. Ethnography has likewise in recent years advanced our knowledge of the customs of certain tribes and at least a bibliography should draw attention to Schapera on the Tswana, Hunter on the Pondo, Ashton on the Basuto, and Bryant on the Zulu – to mention only the foremost studies.

Omissions on the legal side are some reference to Mr. T. D. Ramsay's useful study of Tsonga Law in the Transvaal (in *African Studies*, September 1946) and to Dr. N. J. van Warmelo's work on Venda Law (1948 and 1949). Incidentally, the spelling of tribal names should follow the rules now generally recognized and accepted, e.g. Xhosa, not Xosa and Tsonga not Tonga.

Mr. Seymour's outlook and emphasis are coloured by his long experience and profound knowledge of the Cape tribesmen, and his work excludes Natal. None the less, he has put us all deeply in debt for this solid and substantial contribution to our knowledge of what the courts are doing to apply Native law. · JULIUS LEWIN.

The Native Common Law of Immovable Property in South Africa. A. J. KERR. (Butterworth, Durban : 1953.) 68 pp. 20s.

This book examines the effects of land legislation and judicial decisions affecting the Ciskeian territories, excluding Glen Grey.

Briefly stated the thesis advanced by the author is that both in Native Common law and under Union statutory law the allottee of land is the owner thereof. The nature and extent of the rights of the owner differ according to the system under which such rights are held but in neither case is ownership as extensive as in Roman-Dutch law. Ownership is to be understood as "the one method of enjoyment of property which is more extensive than the others" (p. 31). Neither the Chief (under Native Common law) nor the Crown (under Union legislation) own allotted land. Land which may be owned is confined to residential and arable and capacity to own such land is limited to the individual kraalhead.

Dealing with the position under Native Common law Mr. Kerr finds that the right of the chief in allotted land is not the right of an owner but that of a trustee "in the law of sovereignty". It is clear, however, that there is a confusion in the text between ownership in public law and that in private law. Moreover, the statement that "while sovereignty in old Native law vested, strictly speaking, in the chief-in-council, the chief had many of the attributes of a monarch" (p. 12), implies a divided sovereignty for which there is no evidence. Indeed, the author's own statement that "the chief could do no wrong", is itself a denial of a divided sovereignty. As sovereign the chief is as much the owner of the land over which he exercises jurisdiction as any sovereign ever is, but he is of course owner in public law. It is

therefore unnecessary to discuss, as Mr. Kerr does, "the chief described as trustee". From the nature of the sovereign's right of ownership it follows that he has, as Mr. Kerr points out, the powers of allotment, expropriation and confiscation, and also – although the author denies this – the power to administer lands once allotted. No reason is given for denying this power to the chief and indeed no authority can be found, nor does the author find one, for the view that the chief does not retain ultimate control over land.

As to the nature of the rights acquired on allotment, it is submitted in this book that the *buqiso* custom (whereby livestock were allowed to graze unrestricted on arable land after the crops had been reaped), actions for trespass, right of recovery after absence (short of abandonment), and rights of inheritance in land are evidence that the tenure in land is individual and not communal; furthermore it is held that while there is a prohibition on the sale of land by the individual, there is a restricted right of alienation. But the right to exclude others, and that of recovery, may be rights of a possessor as much as rights of an owner. And the fact that a right in land is inheritable is not in itself indicative of the nature of that right much less of individual ownership. In Roman-Dutch law ownership is not the only kind of real right that is inheritable; possession, for instance, is not extinguished by death if physical occupation follows (Voet, 41 : 2 : 10; Grotius, *Introduction to Dutch Jurisprudence*, 2 : 2 : 12 and Van der Keesel, Th., 182).

In regard to the power to alienate, if this is anything less than exclusive and unrestricted, the term "disposal" is more accurate to describe the right held. That the kraalhead has such an exclusive right in private law is far from clear and definite; in public law his right is, of course, not exclusive. In any event, there is no doubt that only restricted "alienation" is permitted.

It may not be too fanciful to suggest that as in English law, so in the system of law obtaining in the traditional Nguni society, "ownership . . . may be almost described as the ultimate or best right to possession" (G. W. Paton, *Jurisprudence*, 1946, p. 423). It is entirely consistent with the rights of the allottee to describe them in terms of possession whereas, as the present work clearly indicates, the ascription of the term ownership creates more difficulties than it solves.

In the second part of his book the author, referring to certain Reserves in the Ciskei and to the rights of the Crown and others therein, under Union statutory law, concludes that "Union statutory law concedes the individual the right of ownership within the system of Native law" (p. 40). He then proceeds to a formal examination of how such ownership is acquired, suspended and lost, the incidents of ownership, consequences of ownership, and servitudes. It is significant that the "owner" under statutory law has considerably more restricted rights than under Native Common law – not only is his right subject to certain conditions and to considerable regulation by the Crown, but he may only alienate to another Native with the consent of the Crown.

It is only with considerable agility that a right of such a nature can be held to be ownership rather than possession, which is the term used in the statutes. If it were true that the principle of private ownership of land was a feature of Native Common law, it is difficult to explain why Government introduced the system of individual registered title. Are there, then, two kinds of ownership – the one acquired by allotment only and the other by title as in Roman-Dutch law? And since the latter right is more extensive than the former, can the allottee be called an owner? That "ownership is confined to the greatest right of enjoyment known to the law" may be accepted as a convenient theory as to the nature of that right in jurisprudence, but it is only one of many such theories and that it suffices to explain the whole system of rights in land in the system of law in question may be doubted.

There are other aspects of this work which call for examination, principally the uncritical acceptance of evidence of varying reliability, the terminology adopted, and the inadequate theoretical formulation of the problems which are relevant to a study of property. Considerations of space decree that only mere reference to these aspects should be made.

M. M. TATHAM.